

PRAGMATIC ASSESSMENT IN L2 INTERACTION: APPLIED
CONVERSATION ANALYSIS FOR PEDAGOGIC INTERVENTION

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

MAY 2013

By

Tsui-Ping Cheng

Dissertation Committee:

Gabriele Kasper, Chair

Richard Day

Christina Higgins

Richard Schmidt

Cynthia Y. Ning, University Representative

Keywords: pragmatics, assessment, conversation analysis, embodiment, disagreement

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Tsui-Ping Cheng

To my parents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation would not have been possible without the support and guidance of my committee members: Professors Gabriele Kasper, Richard Day, Christina Higgins, Richard Schmidt, and Cynthia Y. Ning. I feel privileged to have them as my mentors and to learn from them what true scholarship is all about. In particular, I am most indebted to my academic advisor and dissertation chair, Gabriele Kasper, for her insightful comments on various drafts of my dissertation and her constant mentorship and warm encouragement over the course of my graduate studies. She has and continues to inspire me to be a more responsible teacher, devoted researcher, and better person.

I am extremely grateful to my research participants, who cooperated with me and consented to having their conversations recorded for this study. Without their participation, this study would not exist.

My special thanks go out to the English Language Institute at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. I am particularly thankful to Kenton Harsch not only for supporting my data collection, but also for giving me the opportunity to mature professionally as a teacher. I must also thank the Spring 2010 and 2011 teachers in the listening and speaking curriculum, as they generously allowed me to recruit participants and video-record student discussions in their classes.

I would like to extend my sincere thanks to my friends, classmates, and colleagues in Hawai'i. They have helped me with this dissertation in numerous ways. Mahalo to Hanbyul Jung, Josephine Lee, Soo Jung Youn, Hakyoon Lee, Emily Lee, Dana Kwong, and Makoto Omori for their encouragement and friendship throughout my graduate student life; to Emi Murayama for giving me advice on how to represent nonvocal behavior in this study's transcripts; to Rue Alfred Burch for taking the time

to read my dissertation drafts and provide me with constructive feedback on my analyses; to the members of the CA data session group for helping me develop an analytical eye; to Fergus Poile for his technical assistance with line-drawing; and to Ashley Fukutomi for her editing assistance. Thank you for being a part of my academic journey. Mahalo nui loa.

Thanks are also due to my friends both in Japan and Taiwan for their generous and consistent support. I am truly thankful to Jin Woo for sending me motivational text messages when I had to work on my dissertation after work; to Aya Watanabe for being my sounding board, cheerleader, and best friend; to Hung-Tzu Huang, Pei-Chun Chou, and Yi-Jiun Shiung for wonderful dinners, encouraging emails, and fun-filled Mandarin chats.

Finally, I wish to express my deepest love and appreciation to my family. My sisters Jean and Ching-Fen, my niece Apple, and my nephew Aaron have provided me with unfailing care and love all along the way. My parents-in-law have helped me settle into life in Japan and have welcomed me to every family event. They took me on onsen trips so that I could take a break from having to juggle my dissertation and new life in Japan. My husband, Jun, has always encouraged me to stay positive as I stumbled through my doctoral study and struggled with the dissertation writing. His great sense of humor and excellent cooking skills have given me the motivation and energy to persist through this journey. Last, but not least, my parents have provided me with tremendous financial and emotional support throughout my academic pursuits. They have given me the wings to fly far and high even when the wind was blowing against me. I feel truly blessed to be their daughter. I humbly dedicate this dissertation to them.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation uses conversation analysis (CA) to examine English L2 speakers' participation in an innovative multiparty pragmatic assessment activity. In contrast to previous interlanguage pragmatics research, this study not only considers assessment as an interactive activity, but also uses video footage of naturally occurring disagreement sequences collected from real classroom interactions as the material for its pragmatic assessment activity. By taking this novel approach toward the method and material of pragmatic assessment, this study aims to (1) investigate the ways in which L2 speakers calibrate their assessments in interaction, and (2) explore the possibility of applying CA findings to pedagogic intervention in L2 pragmatics.

The data for this study comes from six videotaped L2 speakers' small group discussions in an English as a second language instructional context. Using a multimodal perspective to analyze assessment in interaction, this study presents a detailed description of how the participants integrate diverse vocal and visual resources to construct stances in concert with other group members and accomplish assessment as a collaborative activity. Specifically, gaze direction is identified as a constitutive part of the participants' display of affiliation and disaffiliation with assessments. This study also provides an empirical account of how noticing, as a phenomenon registered, invited, and accounted for by the participants, is lodged within the interactional process. Finally, the analysis demonstrates three pedagogical advantages of using authentic disagreement sequences for pragmatic assessment: (1) it provides participants with rich contextual information to coordinate their stances vis-à-vis one another; (2) it affords participants an interactional space to make informed pragmatic decisions; and (3) it sensitizes participants to how disagreement is

organized as a multimodal achievement.

The findings reported in this study contribute to an understanding of the embodied production of assessments, the consequential displays of noticing in interaction, and the fruitful application of CA to pragmatic instruction. It is hoped that this study both provides an example of the ways language researchers can apply CA to pedagogic intervention and encourages language researchers to further explore this area of L2 studies, thereby expanding the field's understanding of CA's engagement with instructional activities and materials development.

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TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Based on the system developed by Jefferson (2004).

[]	overlapping talk
(0.0)	length of silence in tenths of a second
(.)	micro pause less than 2/10 of a second
-	cut-off
.	falling intonation
,	continuous intonation
?	full rising intonation
ˊ	slightly rising intonation
::	prolongation of the preceding sound
=	contiguous utterances, no gap between two turns
<u>word</u>	marked stress
(word)	transcriber's unsure hearing
()	unintelligible talk to transcriber
°word°	quieter than the surrounding talk
WORD	louder than the surrounding talk
hhh	audible aspiration
.hhh	audible inhalation
>word<	speech delivery that is quicker than the surrounding talk
<word>	speech delivery that is slower than the surrounding talk
↑	marked rising shift in intonation
↓	marker falling shift in intonation
\$word\$	smiley voice
w(h)ord	within speech aspiration, possibly laughingly uttered word
(())	transcriber's description of events and bodily movements

Transcriber's short hands

RH	right hand
LH	left hand
RT	right thumb
RIF	right index finger
LIF	left index finger
RPF	right pinky finger
BHs	both hands
2Fs	index and middle fingers
TS	transcript

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Objectives

Assessments frequently occur in ordinary conversations as well as institutional interactions. Through assessments, we make evaluative comments to construct solidarity, express resistance, and display disaffiliation with one another. Assessments therefore constitute a primordial site to examine how we position ourselves, how we perceive phenomena being assessed, and whether we view the world in the same way as others.

In interlanguage pragmatics, assessment tasks are a means to understand learners' perception of pragmatic strategies and their evaluation of the context variables that influence pragmatic choices. Since these tasks are arranged as individual activities, how learners accomplish assessment tasks through peer collaboration is an unexplored area. While solitary assessment tasks provide second language (L2) researchers with valuable information on learners' pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic perceptions, it is worthwhile to document the interactive processes that learners experience in their pragmatic assessments. As Streeck, Goodwin, and LeBaron (2011a) note:

[M]uch phenomenal knowledge is lodged within the experience of an individual embedded within a consequential world. The interactive organization of multi-party action does, however, provide a fruitful arena for investigating from an integrated perspective a host of crucial phenomena that are central to human action, cognition, and social life. (p. 3)

What they point out is that, while we cannot deny the value of examining the actions of solitary individuals, it is equally as important to analyze the distinct properties of human action in social interaction. In line with Streeck, Goodwin, and LeBaron's

argument, this study explores the potential of constructing assessment as an interactive activity in which L2 speakers of English negotiate with and display to each other their perspectives on the target pragmatic phenomenon, disagreement. In doing so, this study uses naturally occurring disagreement sequences as the material for the participating L2 speakers' multiparty assessment activity. By taking this novel approach to the method and material of pragmatic assessment, this study aims to investigate the possibility of applying findings of conversation analysis (CA) to pedagogic intervention in L2 pragmatics.

In sum, the objectives of this study are twofold. First, it will examine the ways in which L2 speakers produce their assessments, attend to each other's assessments, and collaboratively construct a multiparty evaluation of the focal pragmatic action. Second, it will demonstrate the pedagogical advantages of engaging L2 speakers in analyzing the rich materials made available by authentic assessment materials.

1.2. Significance and Contributions

By meeting these objectives, this study contributes to four main areas in the field of applied linguistics and L2 studies: multimodality in L2 interaction, CA for second language acquisition (CA for SLA), interventionist CA, and L2 pragmatic instruction.

First, by describing the contingent processes in which participants synthesize vocal and nonvocal resources to generate assessments on the focal pragmatic phenomenon, this study demonstrates that affiliation and disaffiliation with assessments are managed through multiparty collaboration and displayed through the mutual elaboration of multimodal resources. The findings contribute to the emerging line of research on the dynamic relationship between talk and bodily conduct in L2 interaction.

Second, this study approaches the concept of noticing, an established SLA topic,

from a socially oriented perspective. The analysis of this study focuses on the ways in which the participants register their noticing as a social practice and orient to it as an interactionally consequential matter in the multiparty assessment activity. By unraveling the workings of noticing at the empirical level, this study opens up a promising future direction for a theoretical dialogue between social and psycholinguistic perspectives on SLA.

Third, by using authentic materials for the pragmatic assessment activity, this study is an example of how applying CA findings can make a direct impact on pedagogical practices, thus expanding the research scope of interventionist CA. In describing the application of interventionist CA to practical problems, Antaki (2011a) explains:

Interventionist applied CA has these characteristics: it is applied to an interactional problem which pre-existed the analyst's arrival; it has the strong implication that a solution will be identified via the analysis of the sequential organization of talk; and it is undertaken collaboratively, achieved with people in the local scene. (p. 8)

Informed by such previous research (Antaki, 2011b), this study extends the use of interventionist CA to issues that are pertinent to classroom researchers and language teaching professionals. Specifically, it addresses the possibility of using authentic materials for L2 pragmatic instruction and assessment.

Finally, focusing on instructional intervention in L2 pragmatics, this study explores the pedagogical benefit of engaging participants in naturally occurring speech act sequences. The detailed descriptions of how participants make use of the authentic materials and create learning opportunities for themselves during the assessment activity offer valuable insight for instructional practices and materials development in L2 pragmatics.

1.3. Organization of this Dissertation

This dissertation is organized as follows: Chapter 2 reviews the relevant literature that informed the overall direction of this study, including (1) fundamental principles of CA, (2) CA studies of L2 interaction, (3) research on nonvocal behavior in interaction, (4) speech act theory and CA approaches to disagreement, and (5) interlanguage pragmatics and CA research on assessment. The chapter concludes with the research questions pursued in this study.

Chapter 3 describes the research site, participants, data collection procedures, method of analysis, and transcription process. The descriptions lay the foundations for the analyses developed in this dissertation.

The core data analysis of this dissertation is discussed in Chapters 4 through 6. Chapter 4 begins with a discussion on the participation framework (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004) and the organization of engagement (Goodwin, 1981) that shape the analysis of the chapter. It moves on to investigate how participants coordinate talk and embodied action to organize the assessment activity as a multiparty and multimodal achievement. Chapter 5 presents the psycholinguistic and conversation analytic perspectives on cognition. Building on these discussions on cognition, this chapter examines the specific ways that participants practice their noticing as an interactional event in the multiparty assessment activity. Chapter 6 provides an overview of the materials privileged in prior research on pragmatic instruction and assessment. It then explores the advantages of employing authentic materials as the object of assessment for participants' small group discussions.

Finally, in Chapter 7, the main findings of the preceding chapters are summarized, the implications of this study are outlined, and directions for future research are suggested.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will first sketch out key analytical principles in conversation analysis (CA) that are relevant to this study. Since the data of this study involves the interactions between L2 speakers, studies that have adopted a CA approach to examining L2 interactions and L2 interactions in pedagogical settings will be reviewed. Secondly, I will consider the importance of the participants' nonvocal behavior in understanding the organization of their social interactions. Studies that have demonstrated the relevance of nonvocal behavior in L2 interaction will also be discussed. Thirdly, turning to the particular learning object investigated in this study, I will review how disagreement is understood in speech act theory and CA literature. Fourthly, in reviewing the pedagogical method of this study, I will outline interlanguage pragmatics and CA's different perspectives in conceptualizing assessment and provide a rationale for defining it as an interactive phenomenon. Finally, I will present this study's research questions. These questions address the multimodal accomplishment of assessments, the practices of interactional noticing, and the use of authentic materials for pragmatic assessment.

2.2. Conversation Analysis

CA originated in the mid-1960's within sociology as an empirically-based approach to describe the sense-making procedures that make orderly and meaningful social interaction possible. In the late 1970's, CA drew increasing attention from researchers in a variety of scientific disciplines as a methodological lens through which to study "institutional order in interaction" (Heritage, 1997). In particular,

language researchers have utilized CA to understand the dynamics of both ordinary conversation and institutional interaction.

From a CA perspective, interactional order is achieved both *sequentially* and *temporally*. This order is based on the premise that each turn at talk demonstrates the speakers' understanding of what the preceding utterance aims to accomplish. The goal of CA, then, is to reveal and explicate the *sequential* and *temporal* order that members use to maintain intersubjectivity within a given situation. For example, by producing an acceptance turn, the speaker shows that he or she has understood the prior turn as a request. The prior turn (request) sets the frame of reference for the speaker's next action (acceptance). In this regard, CA is used to uncover how participants orient to the sequentially emergent turns at talk and collaboratively form action sequences.

The organization of adjacency pairs (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) provides a robust demonstration of how turns at talk are sequentially organized. Basically, an adjacency pair (e.g., question-answer, greeting-greeting, offer-acceptance) forms a block unit and consists of at least two turns. The first pair part projects the corresponding second pair part to be conditionally relevant; as a result, the absence of the second pair part, or an unfitting responsive action, is recognized as interactionally noticeable. The speaker of the first pair part may then assess the recipient's action and pursue a reason to account for the incongruous response. As to the second pair part, speakers can design it as preferred or dispreferred (Pomerantz, 1984a; to be discussed in more detail below), depending on the kinds of action the turn is performing. Adjacency pairs thus constitute a powerful sense-making mechanism for participants to systematically sustain mutual understanding with each other and negotiate their expectations of the actions that follow.

The construction of adjacency pairs can also be used as a means for participants to determine if they have reached mutual understanding within the given interaction.

As Schegloff and Sacks (1973) explain:

[B]y an adjacently positioned second, a speaker can show that he understood what a prior aimed at, and that he is willing to go along with that. Also, by virtue of the occurrence of an adjacently produced second, the doer of a first can see that what he intended was indeed understood, and that it was or was not accepted. Also, of course, a second can assert his failure to understand, or disagreement, and, inspection of a second by a first can allow the first speaker to see that while the second thought he understood, indeed he misunderstood. (pp. 297-298)

Schegloff and Sacks' observations show that when current speakers display their understanding of the prior turn, the prior speakers will attend to the current turn to determine how they were understood and whether the current speakers' displayed understanding is in need of repair. Therefore, mutual understanding is displayed through the ways speakers construct their turns and select which action to perform in a given turn.

In discussing how participants utilize the turn-by-turn nature of talk, Heritage (1984a) writes:

Through this procedure the participants are thus released from the task of explicitly confirming and reconfirming their understandings of one another's actions. Mutual understanding is thus displayed, to use Garfinkel's terms, 'incarnately' in the sequentially organized details of conversation interaction. Moreover, because these understandings are publicly produced, they are available as a resource for social scientific analysis. (p. 259)

The constant display of how the current speaker understands the prior talk attests to an "intrinsic motivation for listening" (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974, p. 727) that is built into the turn-taking system of conversation. In other words, prospective speakers need to listen to what the ongoing turn is doing and reveal their understanding of that in the next turn. Macbeth (2011) puts it succinctly: "[T]o take a

turn is to *evidence* understanding” (p. 440). This understanding is not determined by participants’ individual mental states, but by their observable orientations to the sequential organization of interaction (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008, p. 14). The turn-taking system underlines intersubjectivity as sequentially and temporally unfolding practical actions that are locally managed by participants and publicly displayed in social interaction.

Sacks et al. (1974) explain that “the display of those understandings in the talk of subsequent turns affords both a resource for the analysis of prior turns and a proof procedure for professional analyses of prior turns—resources intrinsic to the data themselves” (p. 729). Therefore, the next turn proof procedure (Sacks et al., 1974, pp. 728-729; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008, pp. 13-15) not only makes it possible to analyze displayed understanding, but also affords analysts a resource to ensure that their analytical claims about cognitive phenomena are grounded in participants’ manifestations of understanding in interaction. When commenting on the necessary elements for an “empirically grounded account of action,” Schegloff (1996a) emphasizes that one essential element is to demonstrate that the participants in the data have understood, experienced, and oriented to the social action in question (p. 172). In this regard, any phenomena that CA analysts are looking for should be based on the talk observed and made relevant by the participants *within* the talk itself. This analytical principle along with CA’s use of the next-turn proof procedure in analyzing the achievement of intersubjectivity among speakers drive my analysis in investigating L2 speakers’ participation in a multiparty assessment activity and relocating social interaction as the locus of their cognitive displays.

In this section, I have discussed key practices in CA that are particularly relevant to this study. In the next section, I will briefly review studies that have applied CA in L2 contexts as a means of addressing concerns about SLA.

2.2.1. CA Studies of L2 Interaction¹

With the increase of global communications, most speakers are multilingual, engaging in interactions with languages other than their first language. This fact has not gone unnoticed by sociological CA literature. Researchers have argued for a more situated understanding of language learning and proposed a respecification of SLA research (Firth & Wagner, 1997). Therefore, over the past fifteen years, there has been a steep increase in book-length publications, edited volumes, and journal articles applying CA to understand the characteristics and organization of L2 interaction (Brouwer, 2003; Carroll, 2000; Hosoda, 2006; Kasper, 2004; Kurhila, 2006; Mori & Markee, 2009; Seedhouse, 2004; Wong, 2000a, 2000b; edited volumes by Gardner & Wagner, 2004; Hall, Hellermann, & Pekarek Doehler, 2011; Nguyen & Kasper, 2009; Pallotti & Wagner 2011; Richards & Seedhouse, 2005; Zhu Hua et al., 2007). This line of inquiry, also known as CA for SLA (Markee, 2000), aims to uncover CA's potential in analyzing L2 talk (Schegloff, Koshik, Jacoby, & Olsher, 2002) and in informing SLA research from a socially oriented perspective (Kasper, 2009; Kasper & Wagner, 2011; Markee, 2008, 2011; Markee & Seo, 2009).

While some CA for SLA work focuses on describing L2 speakers' interactional practices (Gardner & Wagner, 2004), others attempt to reconceptualize cognition and learning as social phenomena situated in L2 interaction (Kasper, 2009; Markee, 2008, 2011; Markee & Seo, 2009). What these studies have in common is that they reject a deficient view of L2 speakers, which measures L2 speakers' competencies against the benchmark of idealized native speakers. Instead, these studies acknowledge L2 speakers' status as competent communicators in interaction and explicate the wide range of interactional resources that L2 speakers employ to participate in social

¹ I use L2 interaction to refer to interaction that involves not only the use of a second language, but also the use of multiple languages.

practices (Firth & Wagner, 1997; Kasper & Wagner, 2011; Wagner & Gardner, 2004). For example, Carroll (2004) effectively demonstrates that novice L2 learners are attuned to the fine details of talk (e.g., pauses, gazes, overlaps, restarts, body movements, etc.) and are thereby able to use seemingly disfluent false starts and other micro-adjustments to skillfully construct their participation in interaction. His compelling analysis yields an empirically-grounded understanding of “disfluency” and debunks the myth that novice language learners are deficient communicators and unable to pursue interactional goals. Consequently, CA for SLA research investigating L2 speakers’ interactional competence offers us a renewed profile of L2 speakers and a microscopic view of their interactions.

2.2.2. CA Studies of L2 Interaction in Pedagogical Settings

Shifting the focus from L2 speakers to L2 learners, a number of CA studies have examined how interactional practices are organized in pedagogical settings, revealing a recurrent pedagogical order and the particular workings of “classroom talks” (Markee & Kasper, 2004). Such research has described in fine detail what actually happens in a diverse range of language learning activities, including language tutoring (Markee & Seo, 2009; Seo, 2008, 2011), language play (Bushnell, 2009), vocabulary explanation (Lazaraton, 2004; Mortensen, 2011), rapport building (Nguyen, 2007), teachers’ questions (Lee, 2006, 2007, 2008), teachers’ positive feedback (Waring, 2008, 2009), writing conferences (Koshik, 2002; Waring, 2005), computer-mediated interaction (González-Lloret, 2008, 2009), language proficiency interviews (Kasper, 2006a; Kasper & Ross, 2007; van Compernelle, 2011; Young & He, 1998), classroom guest speakers (Mori, 2002; Tateyama & Kasper, 2008), and small group work (Fujimoto, 2010; Hauser, 2009; Hellermann, 2006, 2007, 2008; Hellermann & Pekarek Doehler, 2010; Markee, 2005, 2007; Mori, 2002, 2004; Sharma, 2012). These findings have revealed the local and contingent properties within various language

learning activities and show L2 classroom interactions to be dynamic and fluid (Seedhouse, 2011). Most importantly, these studies' analyses document students' actual performances in the aforementioned activities, which enable language teachers to deliberate and evaluate their pedagogical decisions in a more principled fashion (Wong & Waring, 2010).

2.3. Nonvocal Behavior in Interaction

When CA emerged in the 1960's, audio-recording was the only methodological option available for studying the situated nature of interactions. However, with the availability of video recording, it became possible, and, in fact, highly recommended, to include visually available details in transcripts, as CA principles dictate that no interactional detail should be dismissed *a priori* as insignificant. In other words, within CA studies, both vocal and nonvocal behaviors are treated as constitutive parts of an ongoing interaction. As Heath (1986) notes, "[M]ovement performs 'locally' and gains its significance through its coordination within the moment-by-moment progression of action or activity, be it vocal, visual, or a combination of both" (p. 10). Indeed, video-based CA studies have illustrated the delicate coordination between language and co-occurring embodied practices (i.e., gazes, gestures, body movement) and the relevance of embodied practices for the organization of social actions (Enfield, 2004, 2005; Deppermann, 2013; Goodwin, 1981, 1986a, 1986b, 2000a; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986; Hayashi, 2003, 2005a; Hayashi, Mori, & Takagi, 2002; Heath, 1986; Lerner, 2002; Schegloff, 1984; Streeck, 1988, 1993, 1994; Streeck et al., 2011b; see also Heath & Luff, 2012). Much can be gained from utilizing such a multimodal perspective, as it allows one to examine how participants coordinate their vocal as well as nonvocal behaviors to sustain, manage, and negotiate their participation in temporally unfolding interaction (Stivers & Sidnell, 2005).

2.3.1. Nonvocal Behavior in L2 Interaction

Recently, nonvocal behavior in L2 interaction has received increasing analytic attention from a few CA researchers. This incipient endeavor yields exciting insights on how participants orient to nonvocal details as resources for organizing their L2 interactions. For instance, Carroll (2004) empirically demonstrated that novice Japanese L2 learners use gaze as a resource to secure reciprocity from the intended addressee. In another study, Mortensen (2009) described L2 learners' sensitivity to their co-participants' gazes, a form of engagement display, highlighting it as a crucial resource for establishing mutual orientation in interaction. Lazaraton (2004) and Mortensen (2011) paid close attention to the embodied resources that teachers deploy in teaching vocabulary, while Olsher (2004) and Mori and Hayashi (2006) investigated how participants complete sequential actions and achieve intersubjectivity through the deployment of a gesture or other embodied displays. Focusing on the use of gesture in repair sequences, Olsher (2007) and Seo (2008, 2011) provide concrete evidence that L2 learners orient to nonvocal behavior as locally relevant resources to foster their construction of lexical knowledge. Mori and Hasegawa (2009) documented how L2 learners simultaneously utilize different kinds of semiotic resources—talk, gaze, body orientation, and textbook—to organize their language learning activities.

Therefore, research indicates that nonvocal behavior is an important resource that should be addressed when examining L2 interactions. To advocate the necessity of incorporating nonvocal information into L2 research analyses, Markee (2004) presented two transcripts of the same sequence, one *with* and one *without* information about embodied actions and gaze behavior. In doing so, Markee makes a convincing argument that nonvocal behavior in L2 interaction provides compelling evidence to address and respecify established SLA topics, such as comprehensible input and the

role of noticing in L2 learning. Taking the importance of analyzing nonvocal behavior as a point of departure, this study examines the organization of assessment activities, where language, gaze, gesture, and body orientation mutually contextualize each other.

2.4. Disagreement

Unlike agreement, disagreement tends to expand over turns and meander through sequences, thus involving more interactional work to accomplish. In spite of being a seemingly disruptive phenomenon, disagreement arises out of the intricate coordination between participants as they negotiate their opinions and construct their turns with reference to each other's contributions to the talk. Gardner (2004) notes that the amount of linguistic work involved in dispreferred responses, such as disagreement, makes it difficult for language learners to use their full range of resources to perform such responses. Nevertheless, Gardner (2000) comments that "[L]earning to become a fully functioning member of a linguistic community will require learning how to do these delicate maneuvers, how to adjust our talk to the requirements of the social situation in which we find ourselves" (p. 31). In light of the complexity and importance of disagreement in social interaction, it is pedagogically significant to examine whether L2 speakers attend to the interactional nuances surrounding the action of disagreement and how they evaluate different disagreement practices, as it would definitely yield new insights on our instructional practices in L2 pragmatics. In the next section, I will discuss how disagreement is defined and analyzed in speech act theory and CA as well as argue for a CA approach to speech act pragmatics.

2.4.1. *Speech Act Theory*

Central to speech act theory is the rational actor model, which assumes that all

competent individuals have the capacity to reason from ends to means in a way that will achieve their communicative ends. As rational agents, social actors are able to think strategically and express their intentions by means of linguistic expressions. How Wierzbicka (1987) defines the speech act verb *disagree* exemplifies such a rationalist approach to speech act pragmatics:

A person who *disagrees* is responding to somebody else's expressed opinion. An expressed opinion can be seen as an implicit invitation to say that one thinks the same. The person who *disagrees* rejects this implicit invitation and says that his own opinion is different. By doing so he implies that he thinks the first speaker was wrong (or that his idea was not good). (p. 128)

The definition is endowed with intentionality and compatible with the notion of reflexive intention as formulated by Searle (1969), for "the speaker *S* intends to produce an illocutionary effect *IE* in the hearer *H* by means of getting *H* to recognize *S*'s intention to produce *IE*" (p. 47). To disagree, the speaker needs to make assumptions about the hearer's intention (e.g., the hearer's implicit invitation to agree with him), and, by disagreeing, the speaker gets the hearer to recognize his intention (e.g., the speaker thinks the hearer was wrong). The intention-based definition therefore showcases a rationalist view of attributing action to the speaker's internal states.

Rationalist model of politeness

Apart from this universal rationality, socialized persons also have *face* (Brown & Levinson, 1987),² which is concerned with presenting and maintaining one's self-image in interaction. For illocutionary acts that are intrinsically imposing, social actors assess the degree of face loss involved and choose politeness strategies

² Following Goffman's (1967) notion of face, Brown and Levinson claim that face has two dimensions: positive and negative. An individual's positive face concerns one's desire to be liked and approved of, whereas an individual's negative face concerns one's desire to have the freedom and right not to be imposed upon.

accordingly to satisfy face needs and fend off face threats. Brown and Levinson (1987) define disagreement as a face-threatening act because the speaker intends his disagreement to mean that the hearer is “wrong, or misguided or unreasonable about some issue, such wrongness being associated with disapproval” (p. 66). Studies that adopt a rationalist model of politeness to investigate disagreement are interested in how disagreement is realized linguistically, how such realizations are connected to contextual factors,³ and what strategies are employed to minimize face threats.

To investigate disagreement, most studies favor non-interactional data, elicited via discourse completion tasks (DCTs), multiples choice questions, or rating scales. Of all the data collection instruments, DCTs are the most widely used procedure. A DCT includes a situation, a scripted dialogue, contextual variables, and an open slot that invites participants to note what they would say and how they would react in the situation (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989). An example is presented below.

2.1 (Beebe & Takahashi, 1989a, p. 206)

Disagreement situation II (lower to higher status): You work in a corporation. Your boss presents you with a plan for reorganization of the department that you are convinced will not work. Your boss says: “Isn’t this a great plan?”

In Beebe and Takahashi’s studies (1989a, 1989b), DCTs are employed to illuminate the causal relationship between participants’ assessments of contextual factors and their verbal strategies of disagreement. DCTs are thus a useful instrument for representing participants’ knowledge of disagreement strategies and linguistic forms. However, DCTs assume that the variable of power (i.e., lower to higher status) has a direct bearing on participants’ disagreement strategies and this causal relation is seen as stable and predictable. As Kasper (2006b, 2006c) argues, analysts following

³ According to Brown and Levinson, three contextual variables are considered when determining the size of a face threat: (1) the social distance between the speaker and the hearer, (2) the relative power between the speaker and the hearer, and (3) the given action’s rating of imposition.

the rational actor model have to make unverifiable assumptions about speakers' intentions and link their linguistic expressions to pre-existing context variables. The problem with this approach lies in "the static, deterministic relationship of context, linguistic resources, and politeness, and the notion of actors with little agency" (Kasper, 2006b, p. 244). In addition, responses within a DCT can be strikingly different from actual language use since the temporal, sequential, vocal, and nonvocal resources used by participants in natural settings are not considered (Golato, 2003).⁴ Due to these shortcomings, the rationalist model is neither adequate nor appropriate for the study of real disagreement practice.

2.4.2. Conversation Analysis

In contrast to the rationalist approach to speech acts, CA views disagreement not only as action constituted in and through interaction, but also as action jointly accomplished by participants. Preference organization in CA clearly illustrates why the sequential and temporal structures of disagreement are critical to our analysis of the speech act.

Preference organization

Preference refers to the observable regularities in talk, independent of speakers' personal desires. In explaining this interactional principle, Sacks (1987) states that turns at talk that disagree with the prior action are formed differently from those that agree. Sacks observed that there are two types of responses, those that are preferred and those that are dispreferred, and the type of response is dependent on the relationship between the first and second pair part. Pomerantz (1984a) notes that response choices are evidenced in the distinctive turn shapes of preferred and dispreferred responses, thus clearly illustrating "an association between an action's

⁴ Golato (2003) notes that DCTs are used to measure "not pragmatic action, but symbolic action" (p. 92).

preference status and the turn shape in which it is produced” (p. 64). Furthermore, in her classic study, Pomerantz points out that a preferred action is directly formulated without any delay markers, as it tends to occur immediately upon completion of the prior turn or even before the prior turn’s completion. In contrast, a dispreferred action is often delayed in its production and preceded by pauses, hesitations, accounts, or “pro-forma” agreement (Schegloff, 2007). Therefore, a delayed response projects a dispreferred response. The following example illustrates various forms of delay in dispreferred disagreement actions.

2.2 (Pomerantz, 1984a, p.71)

L: Maybe it’s just ez well Wilbur,

W: Hm?

L: Maybe it’s just ez well you don’t know.

(2.0)

W: Well / uh-I say it’s suspicious it could be something good too.

In this excerpt, W’s upcoming disagreement is delayed by the clarification request *Hm?*, an inter-turn 2-second gap, and a turn-initial delay at the last turn (i.e., a *well* preface and the hesitant token *uh*). It is evident from W’s delay devices that W constructs the disagreement as a structurally dispreferred rather than preferred response. Thus, as projections of disagreement, delays can be used by the first pair part speaker to prevent disagreement from being articulated at all by the second pair part speaker. Consider A’s questions in the following segment.

2.3 (Sacks, 1987, p. 64)

A: They have a good cook there?

((pause))

Nothing special?

B: No, Everybody take their turns.

B does not respond right away, causing a pause to develop. A then elects to speak

again and revises the question in reversed form with *Nothing special?* to invite agreement from B. A's "subsequent version" (Davidson, 1984) of the initial question demonstrates A's orientation to the gap of silence as a preface to disagreement.

The analysis of these two segments provides evidence that in naturally occurring conversations participants *do* orient to the recurrent patterns of preference structure as important interactional resources to deliver disagreement, anticipate imminent disagreement, and avoid disagreement. Based on participants' observable conduct, the sequential and temporal features of disagreement are as interactionally consequential as semantic formula and, therefore, indispensable to our understanding of disagreement. It is precisely because of the critical role these organizational features play in disagreement that this study includes them in the assessment materials. In doing so, the L2 speakers participating in this study are given the opportunity to evaluate not invented and isolated disagreeing responses in imaginary settings, but real-time disagreement practices unfolding over turns.

2.5. Assessment

In the previous section, I reviewed two different approaches to disagreement. In this section, I will focus on the pedagogical method deployed by this study to examine disagreement. Specifically, I will provide an overview of how assessment is conceptualized as an individual activity in interlanguage pragmatics research and examined as a collaborative activity in CA. Then, I will draw on examples from CA literature to describe the interactive nature of assessment.

2.5.1. Assessment as an Individual Activity

In interlanguage pragmatics, assessment and perception tasks are used to examine learners' pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic noticing in second and foreign language contexts. While the former focuses on how learners evaluate politeness,

appropriateness, and acceptability of speech act realization strategies,⁵ the latter probes into how learners judge the values of contextual variables (e.g., directness, power, social distance, and the degree of imposition) that influence their choice of strategies and linguistic forms (Kasper & Blum-Kulka, 1993). Both areas of work provide us with information about how L2 learners' judgments may differ from those of native speakers (Bardovi-Harlig, 2001). In regards to those differences, several factors have been identified as affecting L2 learners' judgment, such as length of stay in the target community (Olshtain & Blum-Kulka, 1985), amount of exposure to the target language (Matsumura, 2003), proficiency level (Cook & Liddicoat, 2002; Koike, 1996), and learning environment (Bardovi-Harlig & Dörnyei, 1998; Niezgoda & Röver, 2001; Schauer, 2006). Various assessment tasks have been employed to investigate these factors, including listening comprehension tasks (Cook, 2001), multiple choice questions (Bouton, 1988, 1994; Cook & Liddicoat, 2002; Hinkel, 1997; Matsumura, 2003; Olshtain & Blum-Kulka, 1985; Tanaka & Kawade, 1982), rating scales (Bardovi-Harlig & Dörnyei, 1998; Bardovi-Harlig & Griffin, 2005; Bergman & Kasper, 1993; Hinkel, 1996; Kitao, 1990; Koike, 1996; Niezgoda & Röver, 2001; Rintell, 1979, 1981; Schauer, 2006; Takahashi, 1996; Takimoto, 2007), and video judgment tasks (Bardovi-Harlig & Dörnyei, 1998; Bardovi-Harlig & Griffin, 2005; Koike, 1996; Niezgoda & Röver, 2001; Schauer, 2006).

Instead of measuring on-line pragmatic performance, these assessment tasks elicit off-line pragmatic knowledge under experimental or quasi-experimental conditions. They generate versions or representations of what learners notice, perceive, and know, since putative internal states are impossible to see and therefore not directly observable. These assessment tasks are also arranged as individual work rather than peer activities, thus requiring individual responses in a non-interactive

⁵ For instance, in requests (Kitao, 1990; Koike, 1989) and suggestions (Rintell, 1981; Koike, 1996).

format.⁶ This methodological choice is clearly implicated in an intrapsychological view of assessment and a conceptualization of pragmatic noticing, perception, knowledge, and development⁷ as solitary states or processes that are located in the isolation of the individual's mind. This theoretical stance in turn shapes what pragmatic inquiry is initiated and how pragmatic assessment tasks are designed.

2.5.2. Assessment as an Interactive Activity

Likewise, CA's epistemological stance generates a different investigative purpose and requires a different method to conceptualize pragmatic noticing and investigate pragmatic assessment. From a CA perspective, pragmatic noticing and other cognitive states are viewed as socially constituted in interaction, that is, they are considered matters of social construction, rather than matters of individual cognition. They occur, first and foremost, between participants as they engage in social interaction. Through participants' observable behavior, cognition is not hidden from view, but concretely available for inquiry and thereby accessible to analysis. In this light, assessment is considered an interactive event where participants actively negotiate their perspectives and engage with others in meaning-making processes. Consequently, the focus is shifted away from the mental life of a single participant to the public display of multiparty accomplishment. The social, *interpsychological* view of assessment adopted in this study will add new insights to the existing interlanguage pragmatics literature on pragmatic noticing, provide new research perspectives on pragmatic assessment, and have important implications for language education practices.

⁶ Even though learners in Bardovi-Harlig and Griffin (2005) worked in pairs to improve the video judgment task, the peer interactions are neither analyzed nor considered as relevant to the repair outcome.

⁷ Discussing areas of research that would contribute the most to both SLA and L2 pragmatics, Bardovi-Harlig (2013) specifically defines pragmatic learning as individual cognition in interlanguage pragmatics.

In the following subsections, I will discuss how assessment is defined in CA and how participants mobilize both talk and embodied resources to organize assessment activities as “multimodal interactional achievements” (Lindström & Mondada, 2009). In particular, I will draw on examples from Goodwin and Goodwin’s framework of assessment (1987, 1992) to highlight the collaborative participation made available by an assessment activity.

Defining assessment

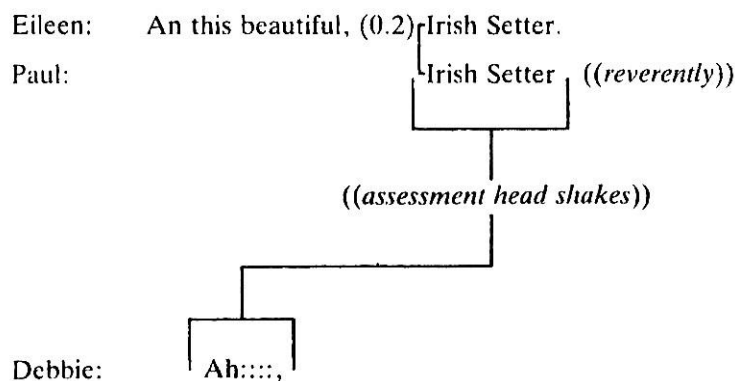
CA research has identified several features of assessment in social interaction. Pomerantz (1984a) describes assessment as a speaker’s knowledge claim of events that he or she has experienced. By means of an assessment, one’s epistemic position is made public in interaction. Recipients can thus participate in the assessment by proffering “second assessments” in the forms of agreement and disagreement (Pomerantz, 1984a, p. 59). Likewise, Goodwin and Goodwin (1987) note that assessment makes visible speaker’s “affective involvement in the referent being assessed” (p. 9) and thereby enables recipients to engage in the assessment as active co-participants. More recently, research has shown that assessment can also be implicated in negotiating epistemic rights and displaying epistemic authority (Heritage, 2002; Heritage, 2012a, 2012b; Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Mondada, 2009; Raymond & Heritage, 2006).

The organization of assessment

Regarding the organization of assessment, Goodwin and Goodwin’s (1987, 1992) pioneering work introduced four levels (segment, signal, action, and activity) and three stages (initiation, climax, and withdrawal) of assessment. An *assessment segment* refers to a specific unit in the stream of speech, usually including assessment adjectives (i.e., beautiful, rude, sad), whereas an *assessment signal* shows one’s involvement in an assessment through non-syntactic means (i.e., intonation, prosody).

When a speaker takes a stance toward the phenomena being evaluated and, as a result, makes visible his or her commitment to a particular evaluation, this is called an *assessment action*. This public stance display can be challenged by other participants as they hold the assessor responsible for the evaluation being stated. When co-participants respond to and engage in an assessment action, assessment is organized as a multiparty interactive phenomenon and constitutes an *assessment activity*. An assessment activity involves not only a speaker's assessment action, but also a recipient's reciprocal stance display. The result of the assessment activity is the speaker and recipient's joint effort in the accomplishment of an assessment. The following two excerpts clearly illustrate the collaborative nature of an assessment activity.

2.3 (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992, p. 159)



In Excerpt 2.3, Eileen's evaluative comment *beautiful* publicly reveals to others how the assessable should be treated. The micropause after the assessment provides Paul with the chance to complete the action as he furnishes the projected noun phrase, *Irish Setter*, which overlaps with Eileen's talk. During the choral co-production (Lerner, 1996), Paul performs head nods, thus making visible his affective involvement in the object and his affiliation with Eileen's assessment. Debbie's subsequent assessment, the nonlexical *Ah:::*, is made available by Eileen and Paul's

vocal and nonvocal assessment actions. Here we can see that the assessable character of the object, *Irish Setter*, is jointly established by the three separate parties, as Eileen's assessment action shapes the perception of Paul and Debbie and secures their recipient assessments. The assessment is therefore accomplished as a visible multiparty activity. Another example is as follows.

2.4 (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987, p. 44)

Curt: **This guy had, a beautiful, thirty two O:lds.**
 (0.5)
 Curt: **Original.**
 Mike: → ((Nod))

After Curt's description of the car, the 0.5 second pause presents Mike with a place where he can display his recognition of the assessment. However, Mike does not orient to the described car as something assessable. With no assessment forthcoming, Curt adds another description to the car, thereby providing Mike with further opportunity to produce the assessment. The key feature to note in Curt's reparative work is "how establishing the assessable character of an object [in this case the car] is not something done by [the] speaker alone, but rather [is] an interactive event" (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987, p. 45).

In addition to its interactive nature, an assessment activity has a recognizable structure, as it "emerges, comes to a climax, and is then withdrawn from" (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992, p. 170), which provides participants with a range of participation possibilities. Excerpt 2.5 is a case in point.

2.5 (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987, p. 37)

Dianne: en asparagus pie
 it wz s::so: goo:d.
 Clacia: I love it. *Yeah I love tha:t.
 ↑
*Clacia Starts To
 Withdraw Gaze*

The enhanced and lengthening intonation in the intensifier *s::so:* indicates Dianne's heightened appreciation of the asparagus pie and strongly suggests a positive assessment adjective as an expected next item. Before Dianne's assessment itself is actually spoken, Clacia begins her own assessment *I love it*, just as Dianne's assessment *good* is articulated. Moreover, Clacia's equivalent assessment occurs at a point where the current speaker has not yet come to a possible turn completion. By placing the assessment where she does, Clacia is anticipating what Dianne will say and what activity she is engaged in. The projective possibilities provide Clacia with resources to perform an appropriate reciprocal action with fine precision and build, in concert with Dianne, a collaborative assessment activity.

Clacia's second assessment, *Yeah I love that*, is marked with a reduction in volume and gaze withdrawal from Dianne. Clacia's voice quality and body behavior display a shift in her orientation to Dianne while showing her continuing affiliation with Dianne's assessment. The change in Clacia's engagement status clearly demonstrates her move toward topic closure and characterizes this transition as an "activity-occupied withdrawal" (Goodwin, 1981, p. 106). Such post-positioned assessment, which comes after a description of an event, acts as a final comment on the described event and used as a resource to project topic closure.

In this single assessment activity, we find that assessment is organized through three successive stages—first, a mutual orientation to the emerging assessment in progress; second, heightened involvement in the assessment through simultaneous action; and, finally, a withdrawal from the focused activity. The activity structure

encompasses a range of phenomena, including talk, intonation, and body behavior, which mutually elaborate each other. By deploying these multimodal resources at relevant moments in talk, participants project future action, organize relevant action with each other, and make visible their production of a coordinated social action.

What is significant about Goodwin and Goodwin's (1987, 1992) framework of assessment is that assessment is conceptualized as a single interactive activity that integrates both vocal and nonvocal behaviors into a common course of action. Assessment is also a central locus for participants to demonstrate whether "their minds and ways of viewing the world are in tune with each other" (Goodwin, 2002, p. S23). Goodwin and Goodwin conclude that through such a public display of affect and involvement in the assessment, cognition, perception, and emotion can be analyzed as socially organized phenomena. It is this approach, which views assessments as the central locus for cognitive operations, that informs how this study will analyze the L2 speakers' participation in the multiparty assessment activity.

2.6. Research Questions

Guided by the theoretical and methodological framework of CA, this study will investigate how English L2 speakers participate in a collaborative pragmatic assessment activity and accomplish it as a multimodal interaction. In addition, this study employs naturally occurring interactional disagreement sequences as the material for the L2 speakers' pragmatic assessment activity. In light of the method (multiparty activity) and materials (authentic interaction) used for the assessment activity, this study will address the following questions:

1. How do the participants coordinate vocal and nonvocal behaviors to construct their stances and organize their participation in the provided multiparty collaborative assessment activity?

2. What are the specific ways through which the participants register disagreement as noticeable and worthy of their attention in interaction?
3. What are the pedagogical advantages of employing authentic materials of disagreement sequences as objects of assessment for the participants' small group discussion? Do the participants attend to the organizational features of disagreement sequences? How can CA findings contribute to L2 pragmatic instruction?

CHAPTER 3

DATA AND METHOD

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will first describe the research site where I collected the data for this study. Next, I will discuss this study's data collection procedures, specifically focusing on the development of the video assessment task. Excerpts from the recorded interaction will be provided to justify how the revisions were made for the task. Finally, I will explain how the data was analyzed and transcribed from a CA perspective.

3.2. Research Context

All the data presented in this study was collected from an English as a Second Language (ESL) program at an American university in the Pacific region. This ESL program provides academic English instruction to L2 English speaking students who have been admitted to a degree program at the university. Students are predominantly, but not limited to, international and immigrant students from East Asian or Middle Eastern countries. Their English proficiencies range from intermediate to advanced levels. The ESL program's ultimate goals are to help L2 students integrate into the university and succeed in their undergraduate or graduate studies. All the ESL courses in this program are taught during the regular sixteen-week Fall and Spring semester schedule of this university. The courses focus on academic skills in three areas—listening and speaking, writing, and reading. Students are placed into ESL courses based on the program's placement test results. The data set used for this study comes from the listening and speaking section of the program, which consists of intermediate and advanced level students with TOFEL scores falling between 500-600

on the paper-based test, or between 173-250 on the computer-based test.⁸ In order to improve students' academic listening and speaking skills, most class activities are designed to help students follow lectures, deliver presentations, and participate orally in class in an American university setting. Particular attention is given to lecture comprehension, academic presentation, and discussion skills to reflect students' actual listening and speaking needs in their degree programs. In class, teacher-fronted lectures are kept to a minimum, and students are frequently asked to work and discuss assignments in pairs and groups.

3.3. Data Collection Procedures

In conjunction with CA's insistence on naturally occurring data, this study does not use invented examples. Instead, it draws on recordings of real world situations as materials for the assessment activity. The collaborative pragmatic assessment activity used in this study was developed in the following five steps.

3.3.1. Collecting Naturally Occurring Classroom Interaction

After gaining approval from the Committee on Human Studies at this university, I first collected naturally occurring interactions from students' discussion leading activities in two intact ESL listening and speaking courses—one intermediate class and one advanced class.

Discussion leading is one of the main projects in the listening and speaking course at this ESL program. The goal of the project is to resemble what students will face and experience in the wider international academic community. Underlying this goal is the

⁸ Students need a score of 500 or higher on the paper-based TOFEL, or a score of 173 or higher on the computer-based TOFEL, to be admitted to the university. Those who have received a score of 600 or better on the paper-based TOFEL, or a score of 250 or higher on the computer-based TOFEL are exempted from this ESL program and will not need to take its placement test. In other words, those that are required to take the placement test have their TOFEL scores ranging between 500-600 on the paper-based test, or between 173-250 on the computer-based test. Based on their placement test results, students are placed into intermediate and advanced-level courses.

rationale that discussion skills are critical to students' effective participation in their field's professional community.

In the discussion leading projects, students lead a small group discussion on a topic of their choice. The group size varies between three to five students, depending on the class size. The activity requires students to decide on topics of interest, plan a discussion as they see fit, prepare handouts with relevant questions, lead a group discussion, and report discussion results to the class. Group leaders and participants are required to draw on and develop their interactional competencies for group discussion, such as voicing their opinions and responding to the opinions of other participants, taking notes, and summarizing the discussion.

In order to effectively facilitate a discussion, group leaders are instructed to keep the discussion balanced and involve all participants. The discussion is meant to be a student-centered activity without any interruption from the instructor. Instead, the instructor works as a facilitator to provide guidelines before the activity and offers feedback on students' displays of interactional competencies in the group discussion.

After I explained my research purpose, the instructors for two of the ESL program's listening and speaking classes gave me permission to recruit participants and collect data in their classes. Both instructors were extremely helpful and cooperative, giving me flexible dates to visit their classes. In the end, a total of 28 students from both classes participated in the data collection. Before the discussion leading activities, the participating students filled out a consent form (Appendix A), allowing me to record their group discussion and use their data for this study.

The students' discussion leading activities were naturally-occurring class activities as they were a part of the scheduled syllabus. As such, the discussion was spontaneous, not elicited. The participating students came from two academic statuses, undergraduate and master's degree programs, with a variety of L1 backgrounds,

including Japanese, Korean, Taiwanese, Mandarin, Vietnamese, Thai, Indonesian, Arabic, and Kurdish. Their discussions covered a broad range of topics, such as cloning, language learning, same sex marriage, cell-phone use, climate change, etc. Prior to the discussion leading, the students in both classes signed up for groups they wished to join based on their interest in the discussion topics. The instructors then formed groups for the students based on students' interests. Only group discussions that involved all members who chose to participate in this study were filmed. Therefore, no recording was made when one or more students in the group opted out of my data collection. The group discussions were 20 minutes for the intermediate class and 25 minutes for the advanced class. Altogether, six group discussions from the intermediate level class and 11 group discussions from the advanced class were recorded over a period of four weeks, yielding approximately 6 hours and 40 minutes of data.

3.3.2. Selecting Disagreement Sequences

Next, I listened to the audio recordings of the students' group discussions and marked the places where disagreement took place. I then played back each disagreement sequence several times to ensure that an opinion-negotiation sequence (Mori, 1999), whether in an expressly formulated or implied manner, did indeed occur. After identifying possible disagreement sequences for the development of the assessment video task, I selected sequences based on the five following factors.

First, a long disagreement sequence could either distract students from focusing on the focal action or not allow enough time for group discussion. Given this risk, the length of a video sequence for the assessment task was kept under three minutes. Second, the quality of the recording was considered. This issue was more evident in the advanced level class because the class had the maximum number of 20 students enrolled. Since the group leading projects were conducted all at the same time, the

background noise would sometimes be so loud that it rendered the recording of the individual group discussion nearly inaudible. In such cases, I used Audacity, an audio editing and recording application, to clean up the background noise. However, if the noise could not be reduced and the recording was not audible enough, the sequence was excluded. Third, sequences that contained a strong personal opinion on the subject were not considered because they might divert students' attention toward the "content" or the "subject" of the talk, rather than the pragmatic action in progress. For example, a disagreeing response that says "I hate people who changed their gender" would be so opinionated that it may trigger a discussion that is not relevant to the research purpose. Hence, sequences involving extremely emotional opinions were not included. Fourth, since much of the sequences' background information were likely to be lost in a short video clip, it became necessary to ensure that the situational context of the sequences were easy to follow and students would be able to quickly understand what happened in the interactions. As a result, sequences that were not easily accessible and comprehensible were not used as part of the assessment materials. Lastly, various sequential organizations of disagreement were considered to present students with a range of possible disagreement delivery forms. Disagreements that were considered direct and unmitigated as well as disagreements that were delayed and elaborated were selected.

All five factors were considered in the selection process and they all served the goal of creating a video task that focused students' attention on the targeted pragmatic phenomenon. In the end, five disagreement sequences (Task 1~Task 5) were selected from the data set for the pilot, whereas Task 6 (Afghanistan war) was considered but put on hold due to its much longer length (3 minutes and 36 seconds) (see Table 1).

Table 1. Selected Disagreement Sequences*

Task	Title	Length	Disagreement
1	Failure of education	58 seconds	without mitigation
2	All the world	43 seconds	without mitigation
3	Cloning	2 minutes 3 seconds	with mitigation
4	Cell phone	1 minute 4 seconds	without mitigation
5	American military base	50 seconds	with mitigation
6	Afghanistan war	3 minutes & 36 seconds	Agreement plus disagreement

*The faces of two participants, Wen in Task 3 (Cloning) and Jon in Task 5 (American military base) and Task 6 (Afghanistan war), were blurred in the video clips because they indicated in their consent forms that they did not want their faces to be recognized.

The following excerpt from Task 1 provides an example of a strong disagreement without mitigation or delay.

3.1 Task 1: Failure of Education

1 Ken: you know that, the failu- first of all I think it is
2 a failure of education in the family
3 (1.0)
4 Hong: educa[tion?
5 Ken: [responsi- of course responsibility of your parents
6 is very imp[ortant
7 Hong: [NO::
8 Ken: OH [you-
9 Hong: [sometimes you can [()
10 Ken: [first of all, yah yah I-I-will
11 tell you because you know that in the family you can
12 educate with your kids, you can give him see: (0.5) eh
13 for example, you can explain to him about this
14 transsexualism, about that about this and then he
15 will understand WHAT is this. and then in the future
16 [of course
17 Hong: [sometimes he or she know: that that- transsexual
18 can- cannot uh:: cannot uh[: (0.4) control herself
19 Ron: [if this situation happen to me
20 Hong: maybe your parent can advise and treat him (0.3)
21 or she but she cannot control herself

22 Ken: NO. it it- that's why I said that it's the
23 responsibility of the parents who have to educate
24 well your children, it's IMPORTANT.

The segment presents a student discussion on what the participants would do if their children wanted to have transgender surgery. During the discussion, Ken and Hong present their contrasting opinions on the issue, which escalates into overt disagreement. As we can see, in line 7, Hong starts up her disagreement with the outright negative token NO::, spoken loudly and with sound stretches. Similarly, with no gap between turns, in line 22, Ken responds with the unmitigated and loud-spoken negative token NO. By delivering the direct negation in overlap with the prior speaker's talk, or immediately upon completion of the prior turn, Hong and Ken show a lack of mitigation and delay in their disagreement.

3.3.3. Conducting Pilot Studies

The video segments of the five video clips were compiled and transcribed following CA conventions (Jefferson, 2004). Once the transcripts and video tasks were ready, I recruited potential participants for a pilot by visiting different listening and speaking classes at this ESL program. After contacting a number of prospective participants through email, a total of 15 students proclaimed interest in participating in my research.

To simulate how real classroom discussion works, all three pilots took place in one of the classrooms used by the ESL program. I placed students who had taken or had been taking ESL classes together in the same pilot group so as to make sure that they would feel comfortable working and discussing the assessment activity with each other. Four students were not recruited because they had not established relationships with the other participants before the study and would likely feel uneasy engaging in the assessment activity as a group. The selected sequences were shown to each pilot

group individually. The participants' consent was obtained before the pilot began.

The goal of the pilot studies was to understand whether the selected sequences were effective in capturing the action of disagreement and would be identified as such by a similar student group. The participants were instructed differently for each pilot in order to find out how they responded to the assessment activity's instructions and whether the instructions were able to solicit a discussion on disagreement, the targeted social practice. Prior to their group discussion, I explained the transcription symbols to the participants, handed out the video transcripts, and provided contextual information for each video task. After all the video tasks were discussed, the participants' feedback on the instructions, the transcripts, the videos, and the assessment activity was invited. The instructions, group discussion, and feedback session of each pilot were video- and audio-recorded, resulting in about 2 hours and 45 minutes of data. The following table provides a brief summary of the participating students' information and the discussion procedure for each pilot.

Table 2. Summary of Pilot Data

	Pilot 1	Pilot 2	Pilot 3
Participants*	Ann, Ting, Jade	Alam, Eri, Hiro, Mei	Will, Lyn, Gina, Joon**
Gender	3 female	2 female 2 male	2 female 2 male
Nationality	China	Indonesia, China, Japan	Korea, China
# of Tasks	5	5	6
Discussion Time	Task 1: 2:50 Task 2: 2:40 Task 3: 4:02 Task 4: 4:30 Task 5: 4:00	Task 1: 6:00 Task 2: 5:06 Task 3: 4:35 Task 4: 4:30 Task 5: 4:10	Task 1: 3:08 Task 2: 4:20 Task 3: 4:05 Task 4: 2:35 Task 5: 10:13 Task 6: 2:32

Total Recording	45 minutes	1 hour	1 hour
Discussion Procedure	Watched each video task twice	Read transcript and then watched each video clip twice	Watched each video clip twice and then read transcript

* Participants' names are pseudonyms.

** Joon was late for the pilot so he only participated in the discussions on Task 5 and Task 6.

Pilot 1

For clarification purposes, those students participating in the video assessment activity will be called “participants” and those featured in the video sequence will be called “students.” In the first pilot, the participants were instructed to discuss the way the students expressed their opinions and responded to each other. The term “disagreement” was avoided in the instructions so as to find out what the participants would focus on in the assessment activity and whether the pragmatic action, disagreement, was recognizable to the participants. Before each video task, I explained who the discussion leader and the group members were, which was also included in the transcript as follows (see Appendix B).

Task 1: Failure of education

Leader: Wang Members: Ken, Ron, Hong

Discussion topic: Transsexualism

After receiving my instructions, the participants watched the proffered video segment twice and started their group discussion whenever they were ready. I did not require them to read the transcript beforehand nor did I assign them a set time for group discussion. The procedure was repeated after every video segment.

During the feedback session, the participants suggested that giving them time to read the transcript before the video was played would have helped them make better sense of the video task. Additionally, I found my instructions, which were open and

general, had pushed the group discussion in various directions, resulting in group discussions that lacked a clear focus. The participants would initiate different topics and abandon them quickly, showing misalignment in topic orientation. The targeted social action, disagreement, was hardly touched on in their group discussion. In fact, the oral and written information about who the discussion leader was in each video task had biased the participants toward judging the leaders' performance in the group leading projects, distracting them from assessing the disagreement sequences. The following three excerpts showcase how the topic of leadership took center stage in their assessment activity.

3.2 P1T2 [11:31-11:41]

75 (0.8)
 76 Ting: and the group (.) group leader should say some[thing too
 77 Jade [>YAH YAH<
 78 group leader [did NOTHING. ((looks and points at Ting's TS))
 79 Ting: [group leader]
 80 Ann: [group leader]'s SO QUIET.
 81 [hhh ((looks at Jade))
 82 Ting: [yah::
 83 Jade: [((nods))
 84 (1.1)
 85 Ting: >she's not leading< (0.3) the group. ((looks down at TS))
 86 (2.7)

3.3 P1T3 [18:07-18:35]

22 (2.0)
 23 Ting: hm (.) the ↑leader started the discussion and then .hhh
 24 she let um two members express their ideas [yah;
 25 Ann: [hm-huh
 26 (0.3)
 27 Ting: and the:n (0.6) at the end the leader didn't
 28 <conclude> (.) um:: their points and then the leader
 29 also didn't give out her own opinion ((looks down))
 30 (2.0)

31 Ting: but overall she did a really (0.8) she- she was ↑good
 32 at (0.4) <letting people express their ideas> =
 33 Jade: =<yah better than the last one>= ((looks down))
 34 Ting: =yah better than the last group ((looks down))
 35 (0.6)

3.4 P1T4 [30:11-30:20]

148 (0.3)
 149 Ting: as a good- (0.3) Jenny as a leader yah¿ she should (0.3)
 150 [bring the whole group together=
 151 [((BHs move closer to each other))
 152 Ann: =hm-huh=
 153 Ting: =but she only concentrates to [one person
 154 [(points RIF))
 155 (0.4)
 156 Ting: ↓that's not good. ((looks down at TS))
 157 (0.6)

Here, Ting, Ann, and Jade make observations about what the leader in Task 2 had not done (said nothing in group discussion in Excerpt 3.2) as well as what the leaders in Task 3 and 4 had done (let people express their opinions in Excerpt 3.3; only talked to one member in Excerpt 3.4). In light of these observations, they evaluate the leaders' performances as *good* or *not good*. Leadership is thus oriented to as the object of their assessment.

Pilot 2

I revised my instructions for the second pilot based on the advice of the first group and my analysis of their group discussion. During the second pilot, the participants were instructed to discuss how the students disagree with each other in the video and what they think of the disagreement. Unlike the previous pilot, the instructions specified the pragmatic action the participants were to focus on. For each video task, I first explained the context of the video and then gave the participants one

minute to read the transcript before the video was played. Like in the first pilot, the video clips were shown twice each. To avoid focusing their attention on the leadership of the group discussion presented, I did not provide verbal information on the discussion leader, although the information remained in the transcript (Appendix B).

After evaluating all five video clips, the participants pointed out three items in the task that could be improved upon. First, the transcription symbols were challenging for them, making the transcript difficult to read. Thus, for the readability of the transcript, they advised me to reduce the number of symbols used. Second, having the participants read the transcript beforehand appeared to have discouraged them from watching the video task. In fact, one participant, Mei, stated that she felt less obligated to watch the video because she knew what would happen based on her reading of the transcript. Lastly, the participants suggested using common Western or Asian names for the students because some names were not easily accessible to them. Indeed, in the service of intersubjectivity, the participants initiated several reference negotiation sequences (Hayashi, 2005a) during their group discussions, thereby putting the larger assessment activity on hold. Excerpts 3.5 and 3.6 illustrate how the participants dealt with repair side sequences on student names before they could move on to the main assessment activity.

3.5 P2T2 [15:53-16:16]

20 (0.4)
 21 Alam: I think uh:: (0.7) the:: the boy, the (.) boy
 22 [in glasses:: (0.5)
 23 [((looks at Eri, circles LH, places it next to left eye))
 24 Eri: yah:: [maybe ((looks down at TS))
 25 Alam: [yah
 26 (1.1) ((all members look down at TS))
 27 Eri: hm[::
 28 Alam: [you know that [who said oh:: it [is sha- ((looks down))

29 Eri: [Ron? [Ron? ((looks down))
 30 (.)
 31 Mei: yah
 32 Alam: yah
 33 (1.8)
 34 Alam: I think he try to:: (0.6) give a further examples
 35 (1.0)
 36 Alam: [yah:¿
 37 Hiro: [who-
 38 (.)
 39 Eri: [who
 40 Hiro: [who is
 41 (0.3)
 42 Alam: the: the man, I mean in the [glasses ((LH next to left eye))
 43 Eri: [glasses=
 44 Hiro: =Ron right? ((looks down))
 45 (0.4) ((Hiro points LIF at TS))
 46 Alam: [↑yah:: [Ron. ((looks at Hiro's TS))
 47 Eri: [yah
 48 Hiro: [yes
 49 (0.7)

In line 28, Alam uses a “you know x” construction to invite the recipients’ display of recognition of the person in question (Heritage, 2007). After Eri (line 29), Mei (line 31), and Alam (line 32) work out the problematic person reference, Alam moves on to the main activity (line 34). However, the activity is disrupted again when Hiro initiates another person reference negotiation sequence (lines 37, 40, and 44) and later expands it in the following interaction.

3.6 P2T2 [16:29-16:49]

57 Hiro: RON agree with uh:: (2.0) ((looks down))
 58 Eri: uh::=
 59 Hiro: =>what's that< ((looks down at TS))
 60 (.)
 61 Eri: =↑Wang? ((looks down at TS))

62 (0.3)

63 Eri: Wang? ((looks down at TS))

64 (0.5)

65 Hiro: the guy. ((looks down at TS))

66 (0.4)

67 Eri: oh:: ((looks down at TS))

68 (0.9)

69 Eri: Ken?= ((looks down at TS))

70 Hiro: =a- agrees with trans:: (0.4) sexualism [rightç

71 Eri: [Ken?

72 [((looks down))

73 (.)

74 Eri: [(or)

75 Hiro: [>in this situation< ↑and then (1.0) the girl is

76 (2.7) ((Hiro looks down at TS. All members look at Hiro))

77 Mei: Hong.

78 (1.0)

79 Eri: Hong?

80 Hiro: Hongç ((looks down at TS))

81 (0.5)

82 Eri: [Hong.

83 Mei: [° yup °

84 (0.3)

In Excerpt 3.6, the reference negotiation sequence is made visible in the participants' embodied action as they gaze down at the transcript, trying to identify an accessible name for the person reference. The assessment activity is therefore put on hold several times due to the group's reoccurring person reference negotiations.

After collecting the participants' feedback, I listened to the group discussion and noticed one phenomenon that was absent in the first pilot. Compared to the previous pilot, the second pilot's discussions were more focused and engaged not only because the instructions directed their attention to the specific pragmatic action, but also because one member, Alam, persistently used questions to pursue responses from

other members. Under the constraints of the question-answer adjacency pair, the group was able to expand the discussions and participate actively in the assessment activity. Consider for instance the following three cases, in which Alam used questions (indicated by arrows) to invite co-participation.

3.7 P2T1 [6:15-6:30]

1 → Alam: alright, what do you think about: (0.6) the way how
 2 the girls (0.3) ((looks at Eri))
 3 Eri: di[sagree
 4 Alam: [disagree
 5 (0.5)
 6 Alam: <↑with> (0.4) the boy when the boy try to explain=
 7 Eri: =ye::s ((looks at Alam))
 8 Alam: ah:: the value of education [in the family. ((looks at Eri))
 9 Eri: [hm-huh
 10 (0.5)
 11 → Alam: [>what do you think< ((looks at Hiro))

3.8 P2T1 [8:52-9:27]

125 (1.7)
 126 → Alam: yeah what do you think (0.7) about the: (1.2) uh:::
 127 Ken's (0.7) idea¿((looks down. All members look at Alam))
 128 (2.6) ((Alam looks down at TS))
 129 Eri: hm::[:
 130 Alam: [on the last (0.5) part, (0.4) no:: (.) it is (0.3)
 131 [that's why I said
 132 Eri: [hm:::
 133 Alam: it is the responsibility of the parents (0.6) who have to
 134 educate we::ll your children. (0.4) it is important.
 135 (0.4)
 136 Eri: yea(h)h ((nods))
 137 (1.0)
 138 → Alam: ((smacks lips)) what do you think ((looks at Eri))
 139 (0.8)
 140 Eri: ↓he:: (0.8) just (0.7) hm:: (2.2) [uh:: ((looks down))
 141 Hiro: [>he has a strong

produced inadequate assessment discussions. In Task 4 (Cell phone), the participants occasionally shifted their attention from the pragmatic action, disagreement, to the issue of leadership. Also, in Task 5 (American military base), the participants did not recognize the social action as disagreement and therefore were not able to generate the intended discussion. Consider Excerpts 3.10 and 3.11 from the discussions on Task 5.

3.10 P2T5 [45:53-46:02]

4 Alam: what do you think ((looks at Eri))
 5 Eri: ↓they:: they don't disagree ((looks at Alam))
 6 (0.4)
 7 Eri: in this (.) discussion. ((looks at Alam))
 8 (.)
 9 Alam: PARDON?= ((looks at Eri))
 10 Eri: =I think they don't dis- (0.3) they don't (.) disagree:
 11 (0.4) ((Hiro nods))
 12 Eri: with each other ((looks at Alam))

3.11 P2T5 [47:07-47:36]

55 (1.1)
 56 Alam: [okay
 57 Hiro: [it's not like they (0.4) disagree ((looks at Eri and Alam))
 58 Eri: hm::
 59 (0.3)
 60 Alam: yah just expressing id- what do you think (0.3) Mei
 61 (3.0)
 62 Mei: °yah:: I think° (1.2) yah:: I think they just (0.3)
 63 they don't have, (.) they:: don't have (0.3) disagreements
 64 between (0.3) [among them so [yah. ((looks down))
 65 Hiro: [hm ((nods))
 66 Eri: [hm::
 67 (1.1)
 68 Alam: just supporting (0.9) the ideas yah; [uh:: expressing
 69 Eri: [hm:
 70 Alam: and supporting the ideas= ((looks at Eri))

71 Eri: =yah sharing (.) information:: ((looks at Alam))
 72 Alam: ↑yah::
 73 (1.0)

In Excerpt 3.10, Eri explicitly points out that there is no disagreement in the video task, which is elaborated on collaboratively and agreed upon collectively by the group in Excerpt 3.11. How the participants responded to Task 4 and Task 5 calls into question the recognizability of the disagreement practice in both sequences. Due to this possible issue, I decided to put Task 6 (Afghanistan war) into Pilot 3's assessment task despite it being a longer sequence.

Pilot 3

In response to Pilot 2's suggestions regarding the assessment activity's transcriptions, I took out three symbols from the transcripts for Pilot 3: micro-pause (.), latching =, and stress _. Only six symbols were used for the transcript to capture the interactional details of disagreement and, at the same time, preserve readability for the participants (Appendix C). With regards to the referential problems, I changed some of the students' names to Western or Asian names that would be familiar to the participants. The modifications were made as follows:

Hong → Helen (Task 1)
 Ron → Tim (Task 2)
 Ying → Amy (Task 3)
 Mika → Yuki (Task 5)

As with Pilot 2, the participants were instructed to discuss how the students in the video disagreed with each other. To minimize distraction from the main pragmatic activity, no oral or written information about the leader was given. The participants were also given a transcript of the assessment task. However, unlike Pilot 2, the participants were only allowed to read the transcript *after*, not before, the video was

played. The participants were given one minute to read the transcript. For this third pilot, places of disagreement within the task were highlighted on the transcript, which also included three discussion questions at the end. The transcript of the first video task is represented below as an illustration (see Appendix C for the complete transcript).

Task 1: Failure of education

Discussion topic: Transsexualism

Group members: Wang, Ken, Tim, Helen

- 1 Ken: you know that, the failu- first of all I think it is
2 a failure of education in the family
3 (1.0)
4 Hong: educa[tion?
5 Ken: [responsi- of course responsibility of your parents
6 is very imp[ortant
7 Hong: [NO::
8 Ken: OH [you-
9 Hong: [sometimes you can [()
10 Ken: [first of all, yah yah I-I-will
11 tell you because you know that in the family you can
12 educate with your kids, you can give him see: (0.5) eh
13 for example, you can explain to him about this
14 transsexualism, about that about this and then he
15 will understand WHAT is this. and then in the future
16 [of course
17 Hong: [sometimes he or she know: that that- transsexual
18 can- cannot uh:: cannot uh[: (0.4) control herself
19 Ron: [if this situation happen to me
20 Hong: maybe your parent can advise and treat him (0.3)
21 or she but she cannot control herself
22 Ken: NO. it it- that's why I said that it's the
23 responsibility of the parents who have to educate
24 well your children, it's IMPORTANT.

Discussion questions:

1. How do you understand the way Helen and Ken disagree with each other?
(lines 7 and 22)
2. How effective is their disagreement?
3. Is this something you will use when you disagree? Or will you do it differently?

Based on the group interaction in Pilot 3, I noticed that reading the transcript afterwards worked well to focus the participants' attention on the video task as well as help them make sense of the task situation. During this third pilot, the group did not engage much in name negotiation sequences, which enabled the participants to execute the "activity proper" (Hayashi, 2005a, p. 440) without disruption. Moreover, the discussion questions and the visual emphasis on the transcript helped the participants evaluate the pragmatic action right away and demonstrate a convergent orientation toward the task. Consider how the group's discussion began with Gina's assessment in Excerpt 3.12 and Lyn's description of the disagreement in Excerpt 3.13.

3.12 P3T1 [3:36-3:49]

8 Will: [>what do you think; < ((looks at Gina))
 9 Gina: [I thought is somewhat (1.2) offensive ((looks at Lyn, Will))
 10 (1.0)
 11 Gina: [for each other ((looks at Will))
 12 Will: [offensive; ((looks at Gina))
 13 (0.3)
 14 Will: [oh:: ((nods))
 15 Lyn: [heh
 16 (1.2) ((Will nods))
 17 Gina: uh the guy being the [(1.0) Ken?
 18 [((looks down, points LH at TS))
 19 (0.7)
 20 Will: uh= ((looks at Gina))
 21 Gina: =Ken said (0.6) just: explicitly NO: ((pushes LH palm out))

3.13 P3T2 [11:15-11:49]

1 Lyn: uh:: first question how do you understand the way

2 Helen and Tim disagree with each other; ((looks down))
3 (3.3)
4 Will: ◦ hm:: ◦
5 (6.2)
6 Lyn: I think Helen (0.9) uh: still think it's (0.6) normal
7 and acceptable among people and popular (0.5) right now,
8 and (0.6) Tim (.) disagrees (0.3) he think (0.7) it's-
9 it's odd, shame, uncommon ((looks down))
10 (1.0)

In Excerpt 3.12, Gina begins the discussion by offering a negative assessment on the disagreement sequence (line 9) shown in the assessment video and then moves on to provide an account for her assessment (lines 17 and 21). Lyn, on the other hand, in Excerpt 3.13, focuses the group's attention by reading the first discussion question and then responding to it by describing the disparity between Helen and Tim's opinions (lines 6-9). Although different, how Gina and Lyn evaluate and describe the disagreement from the onset displays their full engagement with the main assessment activity.

However, as in Pilot 2, the participants had problems recognizing Task 4 (Cell phone) and Task 5 (American military base) as sequences of disagreement. In fact, they evaluated Task 4 as an instance of agreement. Lyn and Will's display of affiliation in Excerpt 3.14 exemplifies this recognition issue.

3.14 P3T4 [29:57-30:14]

12 (3.6)
13 Gina: I thought (0.4) Jenny's:: (1.8) um statement was not
14 that strong ((looks at Will))
15 (0.9)
16 Will: oh= ((looks at Gina))
17 Lyn: =I didn't know they were disagreeee with each other,
18 [I thought] they're=
19 Gina: [hm::]

20 Will: = yah [me too, I- zu- (.) ((looks at Lyn))
 21 Gina: [hm
 22 Will: [I ↑thought they-they have the same]= ((looks at Lyn))
 23 Lyn: [I THOUGHT they are the same]= ((looks at Gina, Will))
 24 Gina: =[↑yah ((looks at Lyn, nods))
 25 Will: [yah HA HA [.hhh they try to make the same= ((looks at Lyn))
 26 Gina: [eh heh .hhh ((looks down))
 27 =hm:: ((looks down))
 28 (0.9)
 29 Will: °point° ((looks down))
 30 (0.4)

In line 17, Lyn says that she does not identify the sequence in Task 4 as an act of disagreement. Thereafter, Will and Lyn simultaneously produce similar utterances (lines 22-23), underscoring their understanding that the opinions being expressed in the video clip are the same, not different. It is thus evident that the focal action in Task 4 is not salient to the participants as an example of disagreement.

As for Task 5, the participants had a difficult time understanding the content of the task, which prevented them from moving on to the main assessment activity. Indeed, the group had the longest discussion in Task 5 (10 minutes and 13 seconds), where they spent the majority of their time making sense of the video clip. Will and Joon's clarification requests (indicated by arrows) in the following three instances clearly showcase their confusion.

3.15 P3T5 [37:03-37:15]

5 (3.0) ((Gina and Will gesture at each other))
 6 Will: () I don't understand [.hhh ((looks at Gina))
 7 Gina: [uhç
 8 Will: what they are talking about ((looks at Gina))
 9 (0.4)
 10 Gina: huh huh .hhh ()
 11 → Will: °do you understand what they are talking about?°

12 (1.8) ((Will drops his pen))
 13 → Will: °what they try to say° ((looks down))
 14 (1.2)

3.16 P3T5 [40:08-40:17]

141 (4.1)
 142 → Joon: ↑what are they discussing? ((looks at Will))
 143 (1.0)
 144 Joon: like (.) huh huh [huh I'm lost ((looks at Will))
 145 Lyn: [hhh [huh hah hah
 146 Will: [() the (0.3) [um (.) the
 147 military

3.17 P3T5 [44:08-44:15]

310 (0.8)
 311 Joon: I don't get what Joe's- (0.7) Jon's saying ((looks down))
 312 (1.9)
 313 → Will: and what about (1.0) ↑Brad? ((points LIF at TS))
 314 (1.1)

By virtue of Will and Joon's questions, it is obvious that the content of Task 5 was too challenging for the participants to understand and thus diverted their attention from evaluating the disagreement presented in the video. Because of the difficulty they encountered in Task 5, the participants suggested adding brief contextual information for each task in the transcript because it would help them understand what was going on in the video.

3.3.4. Compiling Selected Disagreement Sequences into a Video Task

The participants in the three pilots evidenced no problem evaluating the pragmatic action in Tasks 1, 2, and 3, which implies that they agreed with me on identifying these sequences as examples of disagreement. Contrastingly, the group discussions in Pilot 2 and Pilot 3 indicated that Task 4 and Task 5 were not effective in eliciting assessment talk on the proffered disagreement sequences. Therefore, they

were deleted from the final video task. To address Task 4 and 5's possible deletion, Task 6 was shown in Pilot 3. Despite Task 6 being a longer sequence, the participants in Pilot 3 responded positively. As a result, these four video tasks were selected for the final pragmatic assessment activity. Each task was recorded twice on the video, resulting in a total video length of approximately 15 minutes and 30 seconds.

3.3.5. Administering the Video Task in the Classroom

Finally, I administered the resultant assessment video task in one intact advanced listening and speaking class that I was teaching in the aforementioned ESL program. 11 students in the class participated in the collaborative assessment activity as part of a classroom activity. The assessment activity took place one week before the students started their discussion leading projects; thus, the students engaged in the activity prior to receiving formal instruction on discussion skills. The assessment activity was designed to prepare the students for their upcoming projects by showing them video examples of different discussion practices.

At the beginning of the class, I made three groups out of the 11 students: two groups of four and one group of three. The groups were made randomly. The students counted off from one to three and were designated into groups based on their numbers. To facilitate the students' reading of the transcript, I explained the six transcription symbols to the students and provided examples. The video transcripts were then distributed. Based on the advice from Pilot 3, I provided a brief contextual introduction for each video task. The transcript of the first video task is reproduced below as an example (see Appendix D for the complete transcript).

Task 1: Failure of education

Discussion topic: Transsexualism*

Group members: Wang, Ken, Tim, Helen

- Before this segment started, members discussed what they would do if their

kids wanted to have a surgery to change their gender.

***Transsexualism** is when someone identifies with a physical sex that is different from the one they were born with.

1 Ken: you know that, the failu- first of all I think it is
2 a failure of education in the family
3 (1.0)
4 Helen: educa[tion?
5 Ken: [responsi- of course responsibility of your parents
6 is very imp[ortant
7 **Helen:** **[NO::**
8 Ken: OH [you-
9 Helen: [sometimes you can [()
10 Ken: [first of all, yah yah I-I-will
11 tell you because you know that in the family you can
12 educate with your kids, you can give him see: (0.5) eh
13 for example, you can explain to him about this
14 transsexualism, about that about this and then he
15 will understand WHAT is this. and then in the future
16 [of course
17 Helen: [sometimes he or she know: that that- transsexual
18 can- cannot uh:: cannot uh[: (0.4) control herself
19 Tim: [if this situation happen to me
20 Helen: maybe your parent can advise and treat him (0.3)
21 or she but she cannot control herself
22 **Ken:** **NO.** it it- that's why I said that it's the
23 responsibility of the parents who have to educate
24 well your children, it's IMPORTANT.

Discussion questions:

1. What do you think Helen and Ken are doing in line 7 and 22? What kind of action is that?
2. How do they carry out the action? How effective is their action?
3. Will you do the same thing when you are in a similar situation? Or will you do it differently?

In what follows, to be consistent with the references used in the preceding sections, the students from my listening and speaking class participating in the

assessment activity will be referred to as “participants.” The participants were shown the individual video task twice and had one minute to read the transcript after watching the video. After allowing them time to read the transcript, I directed their attention to the three discussion questions on the transcript. I explained that they were to use the questions to direct their discussion and that after the activity they would be asked to share their answers with the class. Once the participants showed a clear understanding of what they were to do, I assigned them seven minutes for group discussion. This procedure was repeated three times. After the participants finished the assessment activity, I invited them to share their observations on how the targeted pragmatic phenomenon was practiced in each video task.⁹ Note that the discussion questions did not specify that the social actions being observed were examples of disagreement. Rather, the questions required the participants to identify and evaluate the action being constructed in the sequence without biasing their understanding toward any specific social practice. All group discussions were audio- and video-recorded, yielding approximately 3 hours and 45 minutes of data. A summary of the participants’ information and the discussion time for each video task is provided in Table 3.

Table 3. Summary of Classroom Data

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Participants*	Yoko, Kim, Lily, Fen	Choi, Aki, Dong, Leo	Rafi, Hana, Erda
Gender	4 female	1 female 3 male	2 female 1 male
Nationality	Taiwan, China, Korea, Japan	Korea, Japan	Indonesia, Korea, Thailand

⁹ The whole class’ discussion was not analyzed in this study since the focus was on the participants’ individual group discussions.

Discussion Time	Task 1: 7:01	Task 1: 7:10	Task 1: 3:25
	Task 2: 6:19	Task 2: 6:13	Task 2: 6:10
	Task 3: 7:45	Task 3: 7:30	Task 3: 5:50
	Task 4: 6:17	Task 4: 6:57	Task 4: 6:16
Total Recording**	75 minutes	75 minutes	75 minutes

* Participants' names are pseudonyms.

** Each class meets for 75 minutes. Since I recorded the entire class session, the recording time was approximately 75 minutes.

3.4. Data Analysis

After the classroom data was collected, the data was analyzed using a CA approach. Both pilot and classroom data were examined in search of recurrent patterns in the participants' orientations toward the collaborative pragmatic assessment activity. In the first phase of the data analysis, I listened to the audiotapes, wrote short descriptions of each group discussion, made an inventory of the resources used in the participants' stance displays, and notated noticeable occurrences in the participants' verbal practices.

Guided by previous research on pragmatic assessment, disagreement, and embodied interaction, I engaged in the second phase of the data analysis by reviewing the data and considering particular kinds of phenomena in the assessment activity that would make the most original contribution to the existing literature within applied linguistics and L2 studies. Specifically, the second phase consisted of watching the videotapes, noting the participants' nonverbal actions, and observing the coordination between the participants' verbal and nonverbal behaviors. In the last phase of the data analysis, I went through the entire data set, including both the audio and video recordings, to assemble collections of the focal phenomena.

The analytic objects of examination in this study emerged both in the pilot and in the classroom data. Notably, the pilot data shows that the pilots themselves were a

worthwhile pursuit, as the pilot groups demonstrated recurrent and identifiable interactional patterns in the multiparty assessment activity. Even though the instructions given to the three pilot groups were different, the pilot participants, just like their classroom counterparts, drew on the same repertoire of sense-making practices to collaboratively negotiate their assessments, worked together through the authentic materials, and achieved a shared understanding of the target pragmatic phenomenon in their peer interactions. Despite the fact that some video tasks did not work out well in the pilot discussions, in the other video tasks, the participants *did* recognize the action being constructed as disagreement, mobilized both vocal and nonvocal resources to display their stances on the disagreement sequences, registered their noticing of co-participant's stance displays, and attended to the multimodal character of disagreement. Therefore, sequences from the pilot data that involve these phenomena of interest were also considered for data analysis. Table 4 shows how the two sets of data were titled in the excerpts.

Table 4. Excerpt Titles*

	Pilot 1	Pilot 2	Pilot 3	Classroom Group 1	Classroom Group 2	Classroom Group 3
Task 1	P1T1	P2T1	P3T1	CG1T1	CG2T1	CG3T1
Task 2	P1T2	P2T2	P3T2	CG1T2	CG2T2	CG3T2
Task 3	P1T3	P2T3	P3T3	CG1T3	CG2T3	CG3T3
Task 4	P1T4	P2T4	P3T4			
Task 5	P1T5	P2T5	P3T5			
Task 6			P3T6	CG1T4**	CG2T4	CG3T4

* Titles are followed by time stamps on the video, for instance, P3T5 [39:41-40:17].

** Task 6 in the pilot data is named as Task 4 in the classroom data.

By taking a CA perspective, this study makes no *a priori* assumptions about whether participants' "transportable" identities (Zimmerman, 1998) as L2 speakers have any direct bearing on their interactions. Rather, this study rejects a deficient view

of L2 speakers' interactional competence and follows Wagner and Gardner's (2004) proposal that "second language conversations are normal conversations" (p. 3). In other words, no inherent difference between L2 and L1 interaction is postulated throughout the course of the data analysis. A participant's L2 speaker status is only relevant and consequential when the participant's orientation to the status is displayed in his or her interaction.

3.5. Transcription

The pilot and classroom data were transcribed according to standard CA conventions (Jefferson, 2004).¹⁰ Once the focal sequences had been located and identified, I made a detailed transcript of the instances and documented both vocal and nonvocal aspects of the interaction. Special attention was paid to *what action* was accomplished in interaction, *who* initiated the action, *what* was said (i.e., words) and not said (e.g., pauses, absences of response, lack of uptake), *where* it was said in terms of sequential environments (e.g., turn positions, overlapping speech and sounds), and *how* it was said vocally (e.g., intonation, volume, stress, stretching) and nonvocally (e.g., gaze, gesture, bodily coordination, facial expressions, orientation to the surrounding environment).

After transcribing the vocal conduct, the participants' nonvocal behavior was added to the "vocal baseline" (ten Have, 2007) with textual descriptions. When textual descriptions alone were not adequate to represent nonvocal action, they were supplemented by line drawings of frame grabs to ensure participants' anonymity and, at the same time, capture a greater level of dynamicity and detail (see Goodwin, 2000a, 2007a; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2012). I used boxes around texts and lines connected to the line drawings to illustrate where in the talk the nonvocal action

¹⁰ See preface for transcription conventions and a list of short hands.

occurred and to emphasize how vocal and nonvocal practices were finely synchronized. Participants' gaze directions were indicated by arrows to facilitate readers' access to the actual phenomenon (see Mondada, 2011; Sidnell, 2006). Because it is impossible to include all participants' nonvocal conduct in the transcript, only visual details that were demonstrably relevant to the participants and critical to the analytical interests of this study were included in the transcripts.

It is widely recognized that transcripts are representations and can never substitute the original interaction. In this regard, transcripts are always selective, unavoidably partial, and analytically biased (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008; Mondada, 2007; Psathas & Anderson, 1990). However, transcripts are an important analytical tool in CA research because they "highlight specific phenomena and create a 'shared focus' among audience and analyst" (ten Have, 2007, p. 32). The transcripts in this study are therefore treated as "a way of noticing, even discovering, particular events" (Heath & Luff, 1993, p. 309) and as a way of giving readers independent and comparable access to the phenomenon discussed in the analysis.

In Chapter 4, the first chapter of my analysis, I start with my observations on the relationship between the participants' embodied action and their stance displays in the multiparty assessment activity.

CHAPTER 4

ASSESSMENT AS A MULTIPARTY AND MULTIMODAL ACHIEVEMENT

4.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to analyze how participants coordinate vocal and nonvocal resources to display their affiliative and disaffiliative stances in the multiparty assessment activity. To this aim, I will start out with a discussion on how participation is accomplished as a multiparty phenomenon and how speakers and recipients' engagement displays shape the trajectory of interaction. Next, I propose the application of a multimodal sequential analysis to preference structure in CA and review research on gaze orientation in interaction. This discussion will provide the backdrop for the subsequent analysis on the relationship between the participants' gaze orientations and their displays of affiliation and disaffiliation with each other's assessments in the small group discussions.

4.2. Participation as a Multiparty Accomplishment

In Chapter 2, we saw that in Goodwin's assessment framework (1987, 1992) both speakers and hearers display to each other their visible participation in unfolding talk when they mutually orient to and disengage from their assessment activities. Within this framework, listening and speaking are not treated as separate actions, but performed as joint actions with recognizable visibility. Rather than focusing on speakers as the primary loci of interaction, this framework decenters the role of speakers by showing that they, like their recipients, monitor how their actions are attended to. Assessment activities, therefore, are situated within a participation framework where speakers and hearers build actions together and coordinate their participation through their bodies and talk (Goodwin, 1981, 2000a, 2007a, 2007b; M.

H. Goodwin, 1990, 2006; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987, 1992, 2004).

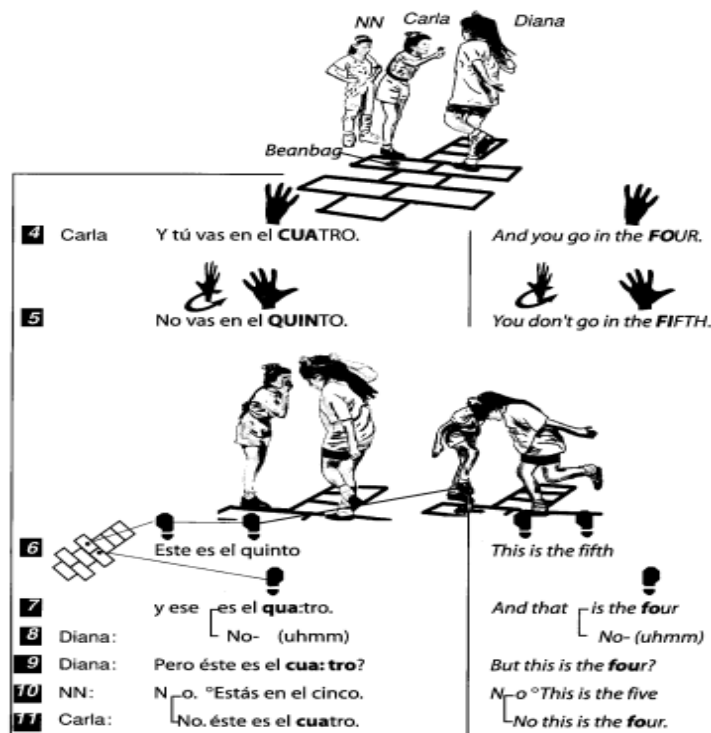
Within this participation framework, participation refers to “actions demonstrating forms of involvement performed by parties within evolving structures of talk” (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004, p. 222). The actions that assemble language and bodily conduct allow participants to engage in local analyses of their reflexive orientations toward each other within an ongoing process of interaction (e.g., Hayashi, 2003, 2005a; Hayashi et al., 2002; Mori & Hayashi, 2006; Schegloff, 1984; Streeck, 1993, 1994; Streeck & Hartge, 1992). This participation framework refers to the ways in which participants modify their talk in response to how others are participating in the talk at the moment. Therefore, participation is accomplished as a multiparty action (Goodwin, 2007a; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004).

4.3. The Organization of Engagement

Central to this participation framework is the participants’ displays of engagement in interaction, that is, their orientation to the talk-in-progress. According to Goodwin (1981), “[P]articipants utilize both their bodies and a variety of vocal phenomena to show each other the type of attention they are giving to the events of the moment, and, reciprocally, the type of orientation they expect from others” (p. 124). In other words, participants not only display their own involvement in the talk at hand, but also propose the type of co-participation that is relevant to the unfolding talk. This phenomenon is understood as *engagement displays* (Goodwin, 1981). However, full orientation is not always present in interaction. As noted in Excerpt 2.5, the asparagus example, gaze withdrawal and volume reduction are deployed by speakers to move from full engagement to disengagement during assessment closure. Through their visible behavior, speakers propose to recipients that co-participation is not expected at the moment of talk. When dealing with such minimal engagement,

recipients can also make a claim on speakers' re-engagement through gesture, gaze, and knowledge display, which Kidwell (1997) describes as "*recipient proactivity*" (p. 92). Similar observations can also be made about recipients' minimal engagement. Excerpt 4.1 illustrates the impact of a recipient's engagement on the speaker in an interaction. Prior to the excerpt, Rosa, Carla, and Diana were playing hopscotch. The segment begins as Carla walks up to Diana and accuses her of making an illegal move.

4.1 (Goodwin, 2000a, p. 1502)

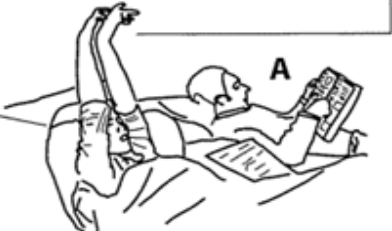


In lines 4 and 5, Carla's talk is accompanied by her positioning numeric hand shapes directly in front of Diana's face and establishing mutual gaze with Diana. Through their bodies and gazes, Carla and Diana are visibly attending to each other. However, in line 6, Diana looks down and displays less than full engagement with Carla's challenge. With reference to Diana's shift of orientation, Carla reorganizes her action to pursue reciprocity: she first drops her gesturing hand and then uses deictic expressions (i.e., *éste* 'this' and *ese* 'that' in lines 6 and 7) with her foot stomping on

the relevant squares at issue. Note that Carla's foot movements are positioned within Diana's gaze direction in an attempt to have not only her talk but also her body movements properly attended to. This sequence clearly shows how a recipient's shift in engagement status has a direct bearing on a speaker's talk and embodied action.

A recipient's lack of co-participation can also terminate an interaction in progress. Excerpt 4.2 is a case in point. In this example, Father is helping his daughter, Sandra, with her math homework. Sandra refuses to cooperate with Father, which is manifested in her minimal engagement in the interaction.

4.2 (Goodwin, 2007a, p. 63)

1	Father:	So <i>now</i> you want me to look at, (0.4)	
2		number twenty fi:ve.	
3	Sandra:	Yes:s.	
4		(3.6)	
5	Father:	Oh:: Okay.	
6		(0.8)	
7		As a mixed number in its simplest form.	Reluctant, minimal participation
8		(1.8)	
9		A mixed number means something with fractions	
10		Right?	
11		(1.0)	
12	Sandra:	°Na:Wha:t.	
13		(1.4)	
14	Father:	Okay.	
15		(1.0)	

By using the tag question *Right?* in line 10, Father is explicitly pursuing Sandra's co-participation and, more specifically, an affirmative answer from Sandra. However, Sandra's response °Na:Wha:t with whining prosody is not in line with the type of co-participation that Father proposes to be relevant. Sandra's lack of engagement is also visible in her co-occurring embodied action. In line 12, we can see that, with her head between her arms, Sandra is not looking at what Father is showing her on the workbook page and is therefore not engaging herself in Father's participation framework. Sandra's refusal to fully co-participate in the activity is displayed not only

in what she says, but also in how she acts with respect to what Father is doing. The interaction later escalates into a dispute over how the homework activity should be organized and the sequence actually ends with Father walking out.¹¹

Excerpt 4.2, while a brief example, shows that, “by operating on a piece of talk but showing less than full engagement in it, a recipient might be able to close down a line of talk that [the] speaker is prepared to develop further” (Goodwin, 1981, p. 121). A recipient’s refusal to become fully engaged in the interaction can carry important interactional consequences, such as instigating an argument, complaint, moral accusations, withdrawal from the talk, or topic shift. As Excerpt 4.2 shows, these interactional consequences do not happen in a vacuum, but are responsive to recipients’ reluctant participation. Such phenomena demonstrate that mutual orientation between speakers and recipients has to be interactively sustained and continuously achieved through both vocal and nonvocal practices (Goodwin, 1981, 2000a, 2007a). Informed by this participation framework, this chapter will focus on how speakers and recipients make visible their engagement statuses while creating convergent or divergent stances in the assessment activity.

4.4. Vocal and Nonvocal Features of Preference Organization

Research on the sequential development of assessments often draws on preference organization as identified by Pomerantz (1984a; see also Pomerantz & Heritage, 2012) to explain the asymmetrical delivery of recipients’ affiliation and disaffiliation, both sequentially and temporally, with a prior speaker’s assessment (See Chapter 2 for more information on preference organization). Even though prior research has shown how participants coordinate their body (i.e., gaze, nods, gestures, facial expressions, and body orientation) and language to display affiliation and

¹¹ See Goodwin (2007a) for the complete sequence.

negotiate epistemic positions in assessment activities (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987, 1992; Haddington, 2006; Lindström & Mondada, 2009; see also Lindström & Sorjonen, 2012), multimodal sequential analysis has not been systematically applied to the examination of preference structure. In other words, the turn shapes of preferred and dispreferred responses are understood predominantly in terms of their vocal features, such as mitigation, elaboration (i.e., accounts, excuses, disclaimers, and hedges), and positioning (i.e., contiguous or delayed) (Schegloff, 2007), not their co-occurring nonvocal elements.

In light of our current understanding of preference structure, the following questions arise: How do nonvocal features come into play in preference structure? How does talk coordinate with nonvocal features in the production of agreement and disagreement? And how are nonvocal features mobilized as public resources by participants to anticipate or project relevant responses? Answers to these questions will enable researchers to investigate pragmatic actions in a manner that allows vocal and nonvocal resources to mutually contextualize one another (Goodwin, 2000a; Jones & LeBaron, 2002), and provide researchers with a holistic understanding of the multimodal achievements of agreement and disagreement in interaction. Therefore, in this chapter, I focus my analysis on how participants use eye gaze as a resource to establish the preference status of their responses in finely tuned ways.

4.5. Gaze Direction in Interaction

Previous research has shown that gaze plays a central role in the organization of mutual orientation (Egbert, 1996; Goodwin, 1980, 1981, 1984, 1986a; Haddington, 2006; Hayashi, 2005a; Heath, 1986; Kendon, 1990; Kidwell, 1997, 2005, 2006; Lerner, 2003; Robinson, 1998; Ruusuvuori, 2001; Sidnell, 2005, 2006; see also Rossano, 2012). As Goodwin (1981) notes, “gaze is not simply a means of obtaining

information, the receiving end of a communication system, but is itself a social act” (p. 30). How gaze works as a socially organized practice can best be understood by looking at speakers and recipients’ orientations toward the course of an interaction.

During interaction, a speaker uses gaze to display sensitivity toward how her actions are received and understood by recipients. For example, by looking at recipients while telling a story, a speaker can create slots for listener responses, such as *mmm* or a head nod, to occur (Bavelas et al., 2002). By directing gaze to recipients and modifying the structure of an emerging utterance for different recipients, a speaker invokes recipients’ knowledge states (knowing and unknowing recipients), and, at the same time, indicates for whom the talk is relevant at the moment (Goodwin, 1979, 1986a, 1987; Kidwell, 1997). When mutual engagement is absent in the talk, a speaker will take active steps to remedy the situation in terms of what she sees. For instance, in the face of a non-gazing recipient, a speaker may build additional units to the current turn so as to give time for the addressed recipient to return her gaze and achieve mutual orientation between them (Goodwin, 1979). A speaker can also produce phrasal breaks (Goodwin, 1979, 1980, 1981; Heath, 1984), follow a directive-response sequence (Kidwell, 2006), initiate repair (Egbert, 1996), or use gesture as a point of visual focus (Goodwin, 1986b) to request a recipient’s gaze. Word search practices provide some clear examples of how different forms of co-participation are organized through a speaker’s gaze direction (Goodwin, 1987; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986; Hayashi, 2003). When a speaker gazes away from the recipient during a word search, active participation from the present recipient is not solicited. However, when a speaker brings her gaze back to the recipient, an invitation for co-participation in the search is underway.

Just like a speaker, recipients display that they are *listening*, and thus engaging in the talk, through their gaze. Several studies have noted that gazing toward a speaker is

a crucial way of establishing engagement in a number of face-to-face interactions, such as daily conversations (Goodwin, 1981; Kidwell, 1997), word search practices (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986; Hayashi, 2003), assessments (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987, 1992; Haddington, 2006), description sequences (M. H. Goodwin, 1980), storytelling (Goodwin, 1984), police-citizen encounters (Kidwell, 2006), doctor-patient consultations (Heath, 1984, 1986; Robinson, 1998; Ruusuvuori, 2001), children's activities (Kidwell, 2005), L2 group conversations (Carroll, 2004, 2005), and L2 classroom interactions (Mortensen, 2009). In contrast, persistent gaze withdrawal from the speaker may be understood as an act of resistance, problematizing the interaction in progress (Kidwell, 2006). Consequently, the arrangements and deployments of recipients' gazes are central to the ongoing regulation and maintenance of speaker-listener alignment in face-to-face interactions.

Gaze is thus an interactional resource used by both speakers and recipients to monitor the relevant actions of others and is a means of visibly displaying one's attentive focus within talk-in-interaction. With reference to what participants demonstrably see, speakers and recipients modify the structure of their talk and organize their actions in concert with each other. In this regard, one's gaze is made meaningful and consequential by being embedded within processes of social organization, rather than existing in isolation from the surrounding talk (Goodwin, 2000b).

Haddington's work (2006) is particularly relevant to this study because he describes three gaze patterns for stance-taking in ordinary conversation: (1) looking together at an assessable, (2) looking at each other during an agreeing assessment, and (3) looking away during a display of divergent stance. His analysis shows that participants' linguistic and embodied practices in the stance-taking activity are not idiosyncratic, "but rather sequentially organized in a surprisingly orderly manner" (p.

282). This study takes Haddington's discussion further by examining the role of gaze with respect to other co-occurring embodied actions as well as the sequential organization of preference structure. Through this examination, this study aims to illuminate the multimodal character of preference structure and the interdependence between gaze and assessment actions.

4.6. Analysis

Following the gaze-as-interactional-resource perspective, my analysis will start with cases in which recipients establish mutual gaze with the prior speaker when initiating agreement turns. Then, I will turn to cases in which recipients defer mutual gaze when constructing disagreeing responses to the prior speaker's assessment. Building on these observations and analyses, I will return to Goodwin's hopscotch example (2000a) to explicate the use of gaze direction in the disagreement as a preferred action. Lastly, I will explore the role of the gaze in a speaker's pursuit of agreement. Even though the focus of my analysis is on participants' gaze directions, other visual practices, such as gestures, head movements, and body orientation, will be noted to illustrate the embodied production of agreement and disagreement within assessments.

4.6.1. Establishing Mutual Gaze in Agreement as Preferred

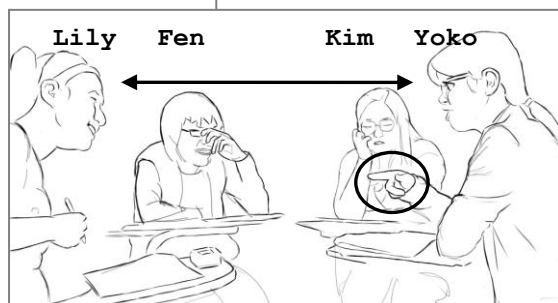
Goffman (1963) notes that looking at each other marks the beginning of a social encounter. A number of researchers have also written about how mutual looking enables engagement and establishes mutual orientation in face-to-face interactions (Goodwin, 1981; Kendon, 1990; Kidwell, 1997, 2006). Focusing on this visual phenomenon, the following excerpts further develop the analysis of mutual looking by reference to the sequential organization of agreement.

From addressed recipients

In this section, I will consider cases in which addressed recipients deliver their agreement immediately upon completion of the prior turn, or in overlap with the prior speaker's talk, thereby characterizing their turn as a preferred response (Pomerantz, 1984a) and as a strong agreement with the stance constructed by the prior speaker. Consider Excerpt 4.3 in this respect.

4.3 CG1T3 [28:48-28:56]

139 Kim: [yah ((looks down and nods))
 140 Lily: [and:: (.) just (0.7)
 141 Yoko: hm::
 142 Lily: uh prevent doing the same thing with[:: ((looks at Yoko))
 143 Yoko: [° yes ° ((nods))
 144 Lily: Helen heh [heh ((looks at Yoko))
 145 Fen: [hehehe [hehehe hehehe hehe
 146 Lily: [during the [discussion]
 147 Yoko: [I agree] agree
 148 with you [uh
 149 Lily: [yah



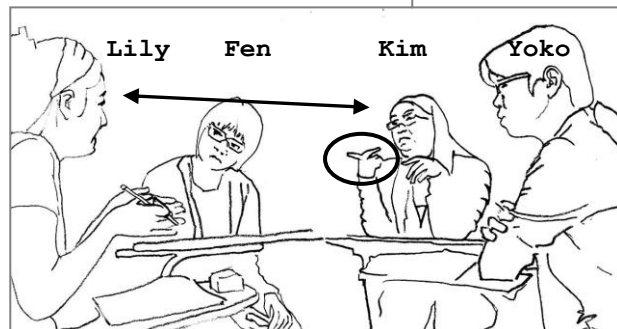
In lines 142 and 144, Lily argues that the way Helen (a female student in the video) disagrees with Tim (a male student in the video) is not a good model for them to follow. By placing prosodic emphasis on the verb *prevent* (line 142) and pointing at the transcript while uttering *with:: Helen* (lines 142 & 144), Lily emphasizes to the co-participants her negative stance toward Helen's pragmatic action. When Lily's turn nears its completion (i.e., *with:: Helen*, at the end of line 142 and the beginning of line 144), she establishes mutual gaze with Yoko during the other's soft-spoken agreement token °yes° (line 143). Yoko maintains their mutual gaze when she initiates a more

explicit agreeing response in lines 147 and 148, which is accompanied with a smile and a pointing gesture at Lily. Here, the combination of gaze, gesture, and overlapping talk work together to highlight the relevance of Yoko's agreement with Lily.

The next excerpt provides a case in which an embodied display of affiliation is prepositioned in relation to the agreeing response.

4.4 CG1T3 [29:46-29:55]

191 Lily: she had she has her ideas, is like (0.4) not at
 192 this::: (0.4)uh::: edge, it's not at this edge,
 193 it's in [between=
 194 Kim: [((points RIF at Lily))
 195 Kim: =RIGHT= ((looks and smiles at Lily))
 196 Lily: =[it's even like
 197 Fen: [yah:



In line 191, Lily uses gestures to describe why Wen's (a female student in the video) idea¹² is acceptable to most people. When Lily says *not at this edge* (lines 191-192), she pushes her left hand, palm facing inward, to the left. As she proceeds to produce *it's not at this edge* (line 192), she does the same thing with her right hand, resulting in both hands opened with her palms facing each other. When Lily utters *it's in between* (line 193) with prosodic emphasis, she brings her hands together in front of her chest. The semantic coherence between Lily's talk and gestures visually formulates her assessment of Wen's opinion as *in between* rather than at extreme *edges*. At the moment Lily has her hands aligned together and utters her assessment *in*

¹² In the video clip, Wen expressed her support for animal cloning, but not for human cloning.

between, Kim points her right index finger at Lily. The precise timing of Kim's pointing gesture serves not only to demonstrate her understanding of Lily's emerging assessment, but also to commit herself to the stance that Lily is about to express. Schegloff (1984) describe such a gesturing recipient as a "covert speaker," who uses gesture "in lieu of talk" to communicate (p. 271). Upon the completion of Lily's assessment, Kim smiles and launches the preferred affiliative uptake *RIGHT* with loud volume while engaging in mutual gaze with Lily. Here, the nonvocal performance of Kim's affiliation is pre-positioned, that is, occurring prior to its vocal counterpart. These observations lead us to consider gesture and gaze as resources that enable Kim to construct a preliminary affiliative stance before shifting from visual practices to vocal affiliation at the prior turn's completion.

The following excerpt presents a case in which the agreement is accomplished as a multiparty event. Aside from its prompt delivery, the affiliative stance of the group is amplified by mutual gaze, laughter, and head nods.

4.5 CG1T3 [26:58-27:21]

```

82  Lily:  =and the: (0.7) is (.) this is the (0.5) like (0.4) a
83          (0.3) ↑correct way to carry on to your opinions
84          to your (1.0) partners,=
85  Yoko:  =hm::= ((looks at Lily and nods))
86  Lily:  =and: it's more: (.) uh like (0.4) the others (.)
87          will accept it [and:= ((looks at Fen))
88  Kim          [((points LIF, nods, looks at Lily))
89  Yoko:  =[yes((nods and looks at Lily))
90          (0.8)
91  Lily:  make this::: discussion more:: (0.9) uh: ((looks at Kim))
92          peacef(h)ul [heh heh heh((looks at Fen))
93  Kim:          [EH HEH HEH ((looks at Lily))
94  Fen:          [heh [heh heh ((looks at Lily))
95  Yoko:          [$hm hm hm [hm hm$ ((nods))
96  Kim:          [right right r(h)ight

```


97 [heh heh .hhh ((looks at Lily))
 98 Lily: [and (0.6) <and> (1.0) <she has her own ideas
 99 and like> (0.7) her ideas is: like (0.6) most of
 100 us:: is agree
 101 (0.3)
 102 Lily: and: (.) there's (0.3) not so many (0.9) uh::: (0.8) uh
 103 conflicts [between it (.) between all these opinions.
 104 Kim: [right ((looks at Lily, nods))

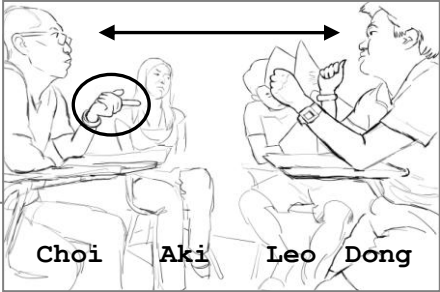
In line 83, Lily uses the assessment term *correct* to display her positive stance toward Wen's way of expressing her opinion. Lily continues to proffer a reason for the assessment, prefaced by the conjunction *and* (line 86) to invoke a connection between the current turn and her prior talk (Heritage & Sorjonen, 1994). As soon as Lily's turn comes to a possible completion with *accept it* (line 87), Kim points her left index finger at Lily, gazes, and nods her head at Lily (line 88). By overlapping her bodily conduct with Lily's ongoing talk, Kim shows her affiliation with Lily's conveyed stance without interrupting Lily's emerging course of action. Similarly, Yoko also gazes at Lily while producing vertical head nods and the agreement token *yes* (line 89). Here we can see that both Kim and Yoko display their affiliation through gazing, pointing, and nodding at Lily before Lily's actual turn is complete. Their embodied practices resemble Stivers' observation (2008) that story recipients use head nods in the mid-telling environment to support or endorse the teller's stance before producing affiliative uptake upon the story's completion.

In line 91, Lily's turn is marked with lengthening sounds, a pause, and hesitation, indicating a word search sequence is underway. When the project adjective *peacef(h)ul* is sought (line 92), Lily embeds and follows the word search sequence with laughter tokens, thereby proposing to the recipients how her assessment should be understood and interpreted. As a result, the interaction culminates in a stretch of laughter among all four participants (lines 92-97). Kim, Yoko, and Fen all gaze

toward Lily at the beginning of their laughter, demonstrating their affiliation with Lily's assessment. Additionally, Yoko's acknowledgement tokens *hm hm hm hm* with multiple head nods (line 95) and Kim's repeated agreement tokens *right right r(h)ight* (line 96) show their heightened affiliation with Lily. At this point, it is clear from their vocal and visual behaviors that the participants have reached a consensus on the event being evaluated. Lily elaborates her assessment further with two *and*-prefaced turns (lines 98-103) and receives reciprocal gaze from all three participants. When Lily's turn reaches its possible completion (line 103), Kim immediately starts up her agreement *right* with head nods, in overlap with Lily's talk, as well as engages in mutual gaze with Lily. In this excerpt, we can see that the recipients not only deliver their agreement on time, but also accompany it with gazes, head nods, and reciprocal laughter.

Excerpt 4.6 presents another case of agreement as a multiparty achievement. Prior to the segment, Dong pointed out that the fourth video task is different from the first one because there is a facilitator (i.e., discussion leader) in the discussion. The segment starts with Aki and Choi performing immediate agreements with Dong through multiple instances of latching, overlapping, and gazing.

4.6 CG2T4 [45:51-46:16]

- 374 Dong: =and then the first discussion=
 375 Choi: =hm:::
 376 Dong: [there's no facilitator ((looks at Choi, Aki))
 377 Aki: [↑yah::= ((looks at Dong, nods))
- 
- 378 Choi: = ah::: [good point
 379 Dong: [just
 380 Aki: [that's right ((looks at Dong))

381 Dong: the problem [and ((moves RH forward several times))
 382 Choi: [ah::::[::
 383 Aki: [ye::s ((nods))
 384 Dong: [no: no: =
 385 Choi: =he[hehehehe
 386 Aki: [hehehehe YAH[: ↑actually yah ((looks down))
 387 Choi: [↑ah↓:::
 388 Aki: Yuki:: (0.3) play:: as:: fa[cilitating in
 389 Dong: [yah ((looks down, nods))
 390 Aki: [this discussion ((points LIF at TS))
 391 Choi: [↑ah↓:::::=
 392 Aki: =yah she:: clea- (.) cli- (0.30 [clarify:: ((looks down))
 393 Choi: [↑ah↓::::((looks at Dong))
 394 Aki: the:: statements= ((looks at Choi))
 395 Choi: =right right [wow ((nods, looks at Aki and Dong))
 396 Aki: [and then they::=
 397 Choi: =good [point
 398 Aki: [she:: [facilitate ↓the [discussion ((looks at Dong))
 399 Choi: [yah [↓yah::=
 400 Aki: =↓yah:: [°that's a °
 401 Choi: [heh heh heh
 402 (0.4)
 403 Aki: good point= ((looks at Dong))
 404 Choi: =oh ↑wow ((looks at Dong))

In lines 374 and 376, Dong reiterates that there is no facilitator in the first video discussion while gazing toward Choi and Aki. In response, Aki initiates her agreement in mutual gaze with Dong: first before Dong's turn comes to completion with *yah:* (line 377), then in overlap with Dong and Choi's talk by saying *that's right* (line 380). In parallel with Aki's earlier agreement delivery, in line 378, Choi prefaces his positive evaluation of Dong's opinion with the realization marker *ah::* while pointing and gazing at Dong. Afterwards, Choi utters the response cry *ah* (Goffman, 1981; Goodwin, 1996) several times before the prior turns' actual completion (i.e., lines 382, 387, 391, and 393) to characterize his strong affective involvement in Aki and Dong's

telling. Right after Aki's description in line 394, Choi initiates his first agreement token *right*, along with a head nod and the establishment of mutual gaze with Aki (line 395). Choi then brings his gaze to Dong and begins another head nod while producing the second agreement token *right* and the response cry *wow*. In lines 398, 403, and 404, Aki and Choi continue to offer vocal affiliation while keeping their gazes toward Dong.

In this section, we have examined cases in which addressed recipients maintain their gazes toward prior speakers during agreeing responses. As these cases have shown, when agreement is delivered without any delay, it is often strengthened by both vocal (i.e., loud volume, lengthening sound, repetition, and reciprocal laughter) and nonvocal conduct (i.e., gazes, head nods, and pointing gestures). In the next section, I will present two examples in which unaddressed recipients display their affiliation through gazes and gestures and, by virtue of their affiliative stance, transform their participation status from unaddressed to addressed recipients.

From unaddressed recipients

Excerpt 4.7 follows the sequence in Excerpt 4.3 where Lily argues that Helen's way of doing disagreement is not a good model. Here, the segment begins with Lily elaborating her earlier assessment.

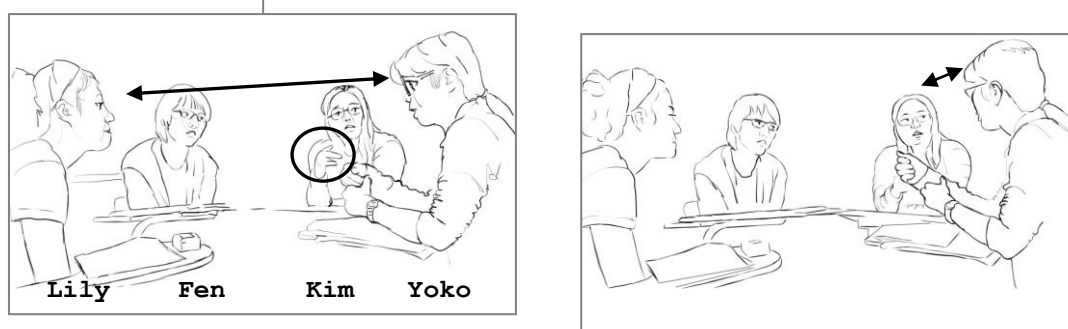
4.7 CG1T3 [29:01-29:19]

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160  Lily:  <then you do the same way as [Helen> then (0.3)
161  Yoko:                                     [hm::
162  Lily:  there is war heh [heh ((looks at Fen))
163  Fen:                                     [heh [heh heh ((looks at Lily))
164  Kim:                                     [yah:= ((looks down, nods))
165  Yoko:                                     [((points RIF at Lily))
166  Fen:    =[true ((looks at the front))
167  Yoko:    [( ) actually Helen could (0.3) express her opinion but
168          (0.5) she:: is (.) not expect ex:::cepted (.) ah accepted=

```

169 Kim: = RIGHT duh = ((looks at Yoko, nods, flicks RH fingers))



170 Yoko: = uh by [e(h)v(h)eryone so (.) [oh yah I agree

171 [((looks at Lily, nods))

172 Lily: [hm:: yah ((nods))

By exaggerating Helen's way of engaging in disagreement as conducive to war and adding laughter at the end of line 162, Lily makes explicit her negative stance toward Helen's action while formulating the analogy as a laughable matter. Consequently, Fen offers her affiliation by laughing with Lily (line 163). Kim, meanwhile, nods her head, proffers an agreement token *yah*., and then withdraws her gaze from Lily (line 164). Note that, during Kim's utterance, Yoko points her right index finger at Lily (line 165), thus overtly selecting Lily as the addressed recipient of her emerging talk. Yoko's display indicates to her co-participants that her upcoming action is of primary relevance to Lily and should be understood as a response to Lily's prior telling. As a result, Yoko's pointing gesture draws Lily's gaze, enabling Yoko to launch her turn at the precise moment she obtains mutual gaze with Lily (line 167).

Once Yoko's description becomes intelligible through repairs (line 168), Kim immediately says *RIGHT* with loud volume, which is accompanied by head nods and pointing her right fingers at Yoko (line 169). When Kim's utterance comes to its actual completion, she flicks her right fingers at Yoko, which makes the sound *duh*. By virtue of Kim's vocal and nonvocal behavior, Yoko quickly shifts her gaze to Kim and thereby achieves brief mutual gaze with Kim. The coordination of Kim's talk and bodily conduct shows her close attention to the details of Yoko's ongoing talk; in

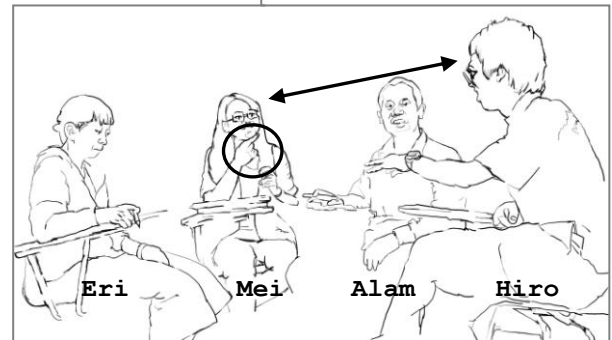
doing so, she manages to emerge from an unaddressed to an addressed recipient. In mutual gaze with Kim, Yoko initiates the turn in line 170 with an acknowledgement token *uh*, as a response to Kim's affiliation. By the time Yoko utters *everybody* with laughter tokens, she returns her gaze to Lily and thus re-orient to her as the primary recipient of her explicit agreeing response *oh yah I agree*. Such a gaze return also marks her current talk as a continuation of her earlier talk in line 168. In this excerpt, we see how the agreeing parties (Yoko and Kim) use vocal and visual resources (pointing gestures and finger flicking) to solicit the agreed-with parties' gaze (Lily and Yoko) and establish mutual gaze, even if only momentarily, with the prior speakers. The following excerpt provides a similar example.

Before Excerpt 4.8 began, Hiro proffered his assessment of Ken's (a male student in the first video) opinion as *strong*, which received agreement from Alam and Eri. In this excerpt, while the three of them continue to elaborate the assessment, Mei gazes down at the transcript without saying anything.

4.8 P2T1 [6:42-6:56]

150 Alam: =he doesn't give (0.3) or include (0.7) any example
 151 right? = ((looks at Eri and Hiro))
 152 Hiro: = [((nods))
 153 Eri: [yah:: he doesn't [accept it ((looks at Alam))
 154 Alam: [yah ((looks at Eri))
 155 (0.3)
 156 Eri: the other's opinion ((shakes head))
 157 (0.3) ((Eri nods))
 158 Alam: yah just giving (.) uh:: [((looks down))
 159 Hiro: [he force the other members
 160 to agree with him [° and ° ((looks at Eri))
 161 Eri: [hm [:: ((nods))

162 Mei: [>yah yah yah you are
 163 [right< [you are right, °you are right °
 164 Alam: [hm ((looks at Mei))
 165 Eri: [yah:::
 166 Hiro: [heh heh heh heh



With the tag question *right?* at the end of his talk, Alam gazes at Eri and Hiro (line 151), selecting them as his addressed recipients whose confirmation he wishes to solicit. Subsequently, Hiro performs an immediate head nod (line 152), and Eri responds with a verbal confirmation while in mutual gaze with Alam (line 153). After a few turns, Hiro elaborates his earlier assessment as he maintains his gaze toward Eri (lines 159-160).

It should be noted that prior to line 160, Mei had been left out of the mutual orientation established among the three focal participants: Hiro, Eri, and Alam. By gazing downwards, Mei appeared to be engaged in a body care movement (Goodwin, 1986b)¹³ with her fingers, placing herself outside of their mutual orientation. Therefore, the other participants did not orient to her as the focal recipient of their talk. However, when Hiro's utterance comes to a possible completion in line 160, Mei asserts herself within the group's participation framework by quickly bringing her gaze up to Hiro, pointing to him with her right index finger, and uttering multiple agreeing tokens *yah yah yah* with fast speed and a smile (lines 162-163). Mei achieves brief mutual gaze with Ken and makes an entry into the discussion, which previously excluded her. Her explicit agreement invites Alam's gaze and acknowledgment (line 164) and Hiro's laughter (line 167). However, in contrast to her

¹³ Body cares are movements that are not tied to the talk in progress (Goodwin, 1986b).

initial heightened involvement in doing agreement, Mei's last agreeing response *you are right* is spoken with markedly lower volume. During its delivery, she withdraws her gaze from Ken and thereby indicates an "activity-occupied withdrawal" (Goodwin, 1981). How Mei starts up and closes off her agreeing responses shows that the single activity of agreement affords her a range of participation possibilities in the assessment activity.

As illustrated in these two excerpts, we can see that through displays of affiliation, unaddressed recipients are able to accomplish shifts in their participation status and transform themselves from co-present parties to co-participants. By initiating their agreement without delay and achieving mutual gaze with the agreed-with speaker, unaddressed recipients claim access to the speaker's conveyed stance and establish mutual orientation to the activity in progress.

Moving beyond the temporal and sequential delivery of agreement, the analysis in this section has also emphasized the nonvocal aspects of participants' conduct when engaging in agreement and its delivery. One particular nonvocal feature that is highlighted in all these excerpts is how the recipients' gaze toward the prior speaker in displaying affiliation. The foregoing analysis empirically shows that recipients either maintain or bring their gaze toward the agreed-with party when vocalizing their affiliation immediately upon completion, or in overlap with the prior turn. However, the data does not indicate that engaging in mutual gaze is a universal behavior whenever participants express an agreeing response. Rather, when agreement with an assessment is initiated without delay, there is a tendency for recipients to keep or direct their gaze toward the prior speaker without looking away. In addition, the agreeing parties accompany their gaze direction with pointing gestures, head nods, body orientation, or finger flicking, which function to solicit the prior speaker's gaze and result in a state of mutual gaze. These visual actions are thus critical resources

that the recipients rely on in communicating their attitudes toward the object of evaluation. Notice that in the presented excerpts the agreeing party often prefaces his or her affiliative response with a pointing gesture toward the agreed-with party.¹⁴ By reference to the action in progress, the precise timing of the pointing gesture demonstrates its forward-looking nature in projecting an upcoming preferred response.¹⁵ As Streeck and Jordan (2009) note, “although the full sense of the preparatory act may not be available when the *pre-* is produced...the sense of the prior unit as ‘pre-’ becomes obvious in retrospect” (p. 94).

4.6.2. Delaying Mutual Gaze in Disagreement as Dispreferred

In this section, I will examine the participants’ gaze orientations in doing disagreement as a dispreferred action. Specifically, two types of gaze direction will be discussed: gaze delay in disagreement and gaze shift in the “yes but...” format. First, how mutual gaze is delayed between the recipients and the prior speaker in disagreement sequences is considered.

Gaze delay in disagreement

Before Excerpt 4.9 began, Kim, Fen, and Yoko had reached the consensus that the female student in the video clip they had just watched did not express her opinion effectively. We join the segment as Lily disagrees with her co-participants and presents her contrasting perspective on the event.

¹⁴ Similarly, the gaze patterns described by Haddington (2006) all precede the verbal responses that they are tied with.

¹⁵ On the forward-looking nature of embodied communication, see the special issue edited by Streeck and Jordan (2009).

4.9 CG1T2 [16:09-16:19]

132 (0.9) ((Lily looks at Fen and Yoko))
 133 Lily: but uh::: in my:: opinion, I think uh:: (0.4) her:: (1.3)
 134 action is actually [(.) um effective.
 135 Yoko: [hm
 136 (0.6)



During the 0.9-second pause (line 132), Fen, Kim, and Yoko all gaze down, publicly showing their disengagement from the previous assessment activity. Lily's gaze is also down during this time, but she later shifts her gaze to Fen and then to Yoko. It is in the face of three non-gazing recipients that Lily starts out her turn in line 133 with the contrast marker *but*, which signals some kind of challenge toward the prior speaker (Schiffrin, 1987). In other words, Lily's disagreement turn is launched without establishing mutual gaze with any of the prior speakers. When Lily proceeds to produce the hesitation marker *uh:::*, she quickly brings her gaze down, timing the utterance so that it is performed as Kim and Fen bring their gaze toward her. By the time their gazes arrive, Lily has withdrawn her gaze from them. Yoko later directs her gaze to Lily during Lily's production of *in my opinion*. However, Lily continues to gaze downward until the end of line 133. While providing her disagreement, Lily's utterance is composed of pauses, hesitations, and epistemic markers (i.e., *in my opinion, I think*), which are characteristic of a dispreferred action (Pomerantz, 1984a).

It is only when Lily is halfway through her assessment, when she says *action* (line 134), does she return Kim's gaze, resulting in a state of mutual gaze. Similarly, as Lily comes to utter the adverb *actually*, she obtains mutual gaze with Yoko. It is in

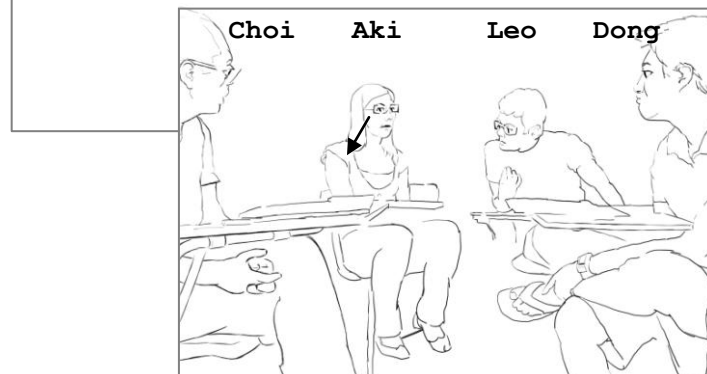
this gaze orientation that Lily delivers her disagreeing second assessment *effective*.¹⁶

In contrast to the delivery of agreement, here, Lily does not establish mutual gaze with the prior speakers until later in her turn. Her gaze is just as delayed as the vocal production of her disagreement delivery. The following excerpt also showcases the interplay between gaze behavior and disaffiliative stance.

Excerpt 4.10 comes from Choi's discussion on Helen's use of a straightforward *no* in directly negating her co-participant's opinion in the video clip. The segment begins as one participant, Choi, affiliates with Helen's action.

4.10 CG2T2 [18:26-19:01]

317 Choi: in my (.) yah in a in a similar situation, (0.7) yah
318 (.) I (0.3) I could, I ↑would (0.3) yah¿
319 (0.3)
320 Choi: uh::: ((nods))
321 Aki: yah[::
322 Choi: [maybe I did this.
323 (1.3) ((Choi looks at Aki and moves LH toward Aki))
324 Aki: ↑so:: (0.7) maybe (0.5) ↑I::: (0.3) would would
325 (0.3) would I do the same thing when
326 [I'm in the similar situa[tion?
327 Choi: [hm [yah¿ ((looks at Aki))
328 (0.7)
329 Aki: um::: (1.0) maybe ↑I take the <same action as Helen>,
330 but I:: (1.2) if when I I reject the (.) other (.) people's



¹⁶ According to Pomerantz (1984a), “second assessments are assessments produced by recipients of prior assessments in which the referents in the seconds are the same as those in the priors” (p. 59).

331 opinion , I j ust say okay, I under[stand,
332 Choi: [uh-huh
333 Aki: BUT (.) [my opinion [is blah [blah blah
334 Dong: [((nods)) [yah ((looks at Aki))
335 Choi: [yah yah ((looks at Aki))
336 Aki: yah ((looks at Choi))

also gazes away from Choi during her disagreement turn, thereby visually distancing herself from Choi's point of view.

It is clear from the next speaker selection procedure that Aki's disagreeing turn is constructed as a response to Choi. Of interest is that, instead of gazing down or away, Aki establishes mutual gaze with somebody (Dong) other than the disagreed-with party (Choi). How Aki addresses her disagreement by gazing at Dong shows that gazing at another visually available recipient can act as a method of avoiding eye contact with the disagreed-with party. Additionally, gazing at another available recipient can be used to build peer alliance with other group member(s) in a multiparty conversation. The fact that Dong has his gaze toward Aki while the disagreeing turn is underway is crucial for the method to be deployed.

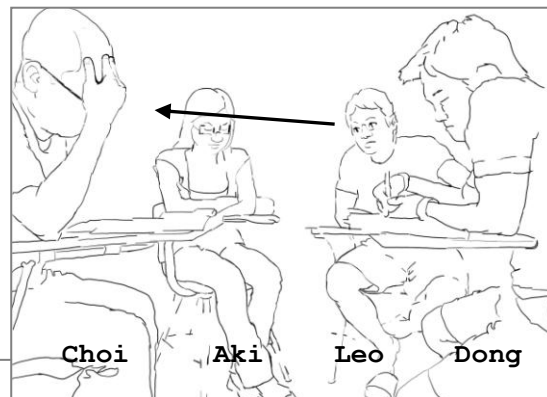
After Aki's turn in line 333 becomes predictable, Choi produces two agreement tokens *yah yah* (line 335), in overlap with Dong and Aki's ongoing talk. Note that prior to line 335, Aki had been averting her gaze from Choi for some time. However, after Choi's claim of agreement, Aki responds with *yah* (line 336) and brings her gaze back to Choi. It is at this precise moment that Aki and Choi establish a mutual gaze, the first mutual gaze between them since Aki initiated her disagreement. Thus, the delay device of deferring one's response and breaking off one's gaze, which is associated with dispreferred action, is in play in Aki's vocal as well as visual practices. How Aki moves her gaze throughout her disagreeing response illustrates her sensitivity to her bodily conduct and its effect on the action in progress. Now, I turn to a case that involves two instances of doing disagreement.

Before Excerpt 4.11 began, Dong evaluated Wen's (a female student in the video) way of doing disagreement as *acceptable*. He argued that Wen's utterance *I don't know* in her disagreement turn revealed her lack of confidence. In response to Dong's assessment, another participant, Leo, presents a different evaluation on Wen's use of *I*

don't know in her disagreeing response.

4.11 CG2T3 [28:25-28:57]

143 (1.4)
 144 Dong: that's why I said.
 145 (0.5)
 146 Choi: hm ((looks down))
 147 (0.4)
 148 Dong: °okay° ((looks down))
 149 (0.4)



150 Leo: °yah I think° .hhh (0.7) I think (0.5) <I don't know>
 151 means not (1.5) not (0.7) uh: short of (.) confidence =
 152 Aki: = uh-huh



153 (0.4) ((Dong nods))
 154 Leo: this is kind of:: (0.8) uh::: (0.9) way to:: (.)
 155 way not to (.) be rude. ((looks at Dong))
 156 Dong: uh::: ((nods))
 157 (.)
 158 Choi: yah: ((looks at Leo))
 159 (1.3) ((Leo looks at Choi and Aki))
 160 Aki: but= ((looks away))
 161 Leo: =it's uh kind of polite way
 162 (0.3)
 163 Aki: [uh-huh
 164 Leo: [to deny (.) other's [opinion
 165 Aki: [oh ↑yah =
 166 Leo: = >so she say< (0.3) [<I don't know> =
 167 Aki: [uh-huh
 168 =uh-huh ((looks at Leo, nods))

When Dong closes his sequence in line 148, Leo directs his gaze to Dong and

maintains his gaze until line 150, where he prefaces his disagreement with a delayed and soft-spoken °yah° to indicate a claim of agreement. When Leo goes on to say °*I think*, he quickly moves his gaze away from the prior speaker, Dong, and toward Choi. As Leo restarts his turn with *I think*, he moves his gaze to his transcript and continues to present the counter opinion that *I don't know* is not an indicator of Wen's lack of confidence. Notice that his disagreement turn is marked with a delayed agreement preface, restarts, pauses, and epistemic markers, which are features associated with dispreferred responses. When Leo nears the end of his turn with the word *confidence* (line 151), he brings his gaze back to Dong, resulting in a state of mutual gaze. Here we can see that the mutual gaze between Leo and Dong is not achieved until the end of the disagreement turn, which parallels the delayed delivery of the vocal production. In lines 153 and 156, Dong claims his understanding of Leo's assessment by nodding his head. Subsequently, Leo first establishes mutual gaze with Choi when Choi provides an agreement token *yah*: (line 158), and then achieves mutual gaze with Aki during the pause in line 159. Interestingly, when Leo shifts his gaze down to his transcript, Aki initiates her turn with the delayed contrastive marker *but*, projecting a disaffiliative stance and moving her gaze away from Leo (line 160).

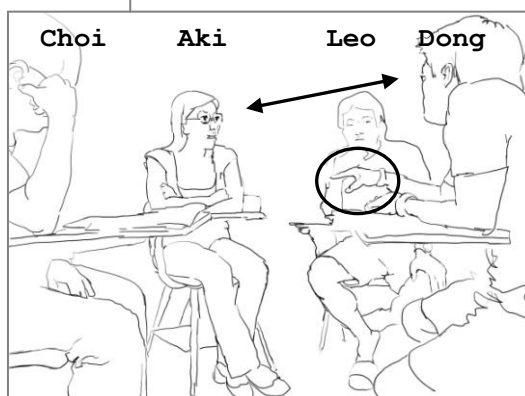
Before Aki unfolds her disagreeing response, Leo immediately reformulates his assessment of the expression *I don't know* as *kind of polite* (line 161), while pointing at his transcript. His pointing gesture invites Aki to bring her gaze to Leo's transcript, visibly attending to the gesture as a relevant part of his telling. When Leo utters the assessment term *polite*, he shifts his gaze from the transcript to Aki to see if she is attending to his gesture (Streeck, 1988, 1993). It is clear from Aki and Leo's gaze orientation that they are fully engaged in the talk-in-progress. From lines 161 to 163, Leo continues to gaze at Aki as if he is waiting for her to return his gaze. Their mutual gaze is finally established when Leo says *others* in line 164 and is sustained when Aki

both reveals her renewed understanding of Leo's telling with *oh yah* (line 165) and supports the progress of his telling with *uh-huh* (lines 167-168).

To summarize, in Excerpt 4.11, we examined two instances of gaze aversion by Leo and Aki respectively (lines 150 & 160), in which their disagreement was delivered as dispreferred responses. Note that their gaze withdrawals do not discount their engagement in the assessment activity. Rather, it exemplifies their close attention to the details in the prior speaker's ongoing talk and their finely-tuned coordination of eye gaze, gesture, and talk for their subsequent actions. This kind of nonvocal action coordination and close observation is also illustrated in the following excerpt, which directly followed the group discussion in Excerpt 4.11. Unlike the excerpts we have examined so far, this one also includes action of doing agreement, highlighting the diverse stance displays and gaze trajectories that can occur in multiparty discussions.

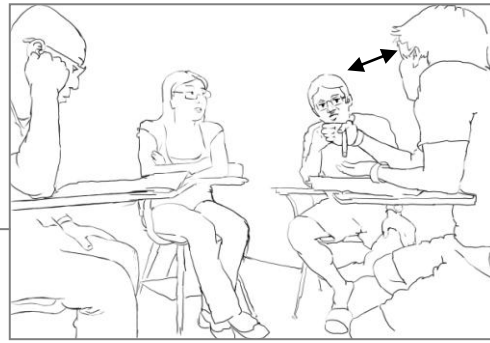
4.12 CG2T3 [28:57-29:18]

169 (2.2) ((Leo looks at Choi and Dong. Dong moves
170 his gaze from Leo to Aki))
171 Dong: I (0.3) I think (.) it's better:: (.)



172 Aki: uh-[huh
173 Dong: [to change (0.7) uh:: (0.9) uh: (0.8) your opinion
174 [is right] ((looks at Aki))
175 Aki: [ye::s] uh-[huh
176 Dong: [but I think (0.4) [>dadalada<
177 Aki: [yah uh-huh= ((nods))
178 Dong: =easy

179 (0.4)
 180 Leo: [yah
 181 Dong: [and more (.) better.
 182 Leo: †ah[:: ((looks down))
 183 Aki: [yah I [think so ((looks at Dong))
 184 Dong: [yah ((looks at Aki))
 185 Aki: [because uh this phrase (.) kind of (0.3) ((looks down at TS))
 186 Choi: [hm
 187 Aki: confu- (.) [it's cause confu[sing ((looks at Dong))
 188 Dong: [yes [yah ((looks at Aki))



During the 2.2-second pause in lines 169 and 170, Leo brings his gaze to Choi and then obtains mutual gaze with Dong. After producing a couple of slight head nods, Dong shifts his gaze away from Leo to Aki. As Dong initiates his disagreeing assessment in line 171, he points his right index finger in the direction of Aki's transcript and achieves mutual gaze with her at the production of his assessment term *better*. The delay, sound stretches, pauses, and restarts illustrate the typical turn shape of a dispreferred action. In overlap with Dong's turn (line 173), Aki produces the continuer *uh-huh* (line 172). In lines 173, 174, and 176, Dong proceeds to complete the rest of his utterance, which argues for a *better* way of doing disagreement. His telling suggests that, regardless of Leo's preceding positive evaluation, he does not think that Wen's utterance *I don't know* is an adequate disagreeing response. In line 177, Aki displays her affiliation with Dong's assessment by producing the agreement token *yah* and a head nod (Stivers, 2008). Dong further formulates his preceding argument as *easy* (line 178) and *more better* (line 181). That is, compared with Wen's utterance *I don't know*, his alternative expression of doing disagreement is not only better but also easier. Thus far, Dong's telling constitutes a disaffiliative response toward Leo's stance. In addition, Dong supplements his divergent stance by gazing at

Aki and away from Leo, the disagreed-with party. The same observation is made in Excerpt 4.10, where the avoidance of mutual gaze is done not by gazing down, but rather by gazing *at* another visually available recipient in the multiparty assessment activity. Aki's affiliative response in line 177 also facilitates the visual method to be deployed by Dong. Through gaze direction, Dong is able to manage the dispreferred sequence by forming an alliance with a member other than the disagreed-party. The "team building"¹⁷ between Dong and Aki becomes more evident in the subsequent interaction.

In line 180, Leo produces the agreement token *yah* with head nods, in overlap with Dong's turn in line 180. Prior to Leo's turn, Dong had been engaging in mutual gaze with Aki (lines 171-179). Meanwhile, Leo had been gazing at Dong. Immediately after Leo initiates his agreement token, Dong quickly shifts his gaze to Leo and achieves a state of mutual gaze while completing the rest of his assessment (line 181).

In lines 183 and 184, Dong and Aki establish mutual gaze as Aki vocalizes her affiliation with what Dong had just said. In line 187, Aki again establishes mutual gaze with Dong and demonstrates her explicit agreement with him by proffering a negative assessment of Wen's expression *I don't know*. Her assessment term *confusing* can be perceived as an upgrade of Dong's initial assessment. Dong then produces two agreement tokens, accompanied by a series of slight head nods (line 188). Note that his agreement is delivered before Aki's assessment term *confusing* is fully uttered. The timing of Dong's agreement delivery shows that Aki's previous affiliative display helped Dong to appropriately anticipate Aki's assessment and, consequently, exhibits his reciprocal uptake at the most timely moment.

In this excerpt, we witnessed gaze orientation in both doing agreement and

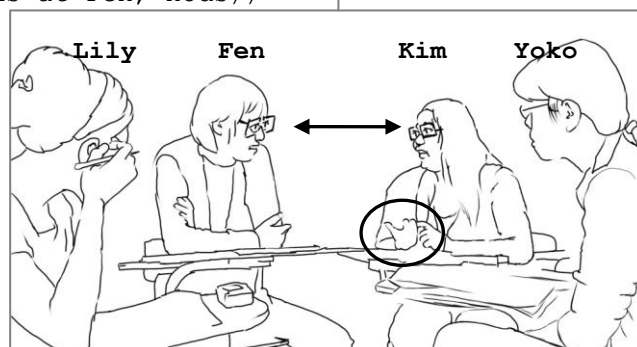
¹⁷ I am very thankful to Alfred Rue Burch for this insight.

disagreement. While the mutual gaze between Dong and Leo is deferred during their disagreement sequence, the mutual gaze between Dong and Aki is promptly established and maintained over turns during their agreement sequence. As a result, Dong, Aki, and Leo's disaffiliative and affiliative actions are made relevant both vocally and visually. The next excerpt also involves the delivery of both agreement and disagreement, which enables us to see the contrast in the participants' gaze orientations.

Prior to Excerpt 4.13, the group had identified Wen's action in the video task as disagreement. In this excerpt, they move on to evaluate Wen's delivery of disagreement. The excerpt opens with Kim and Fen proffering their different assessments on the evaluated event.

4.13 CG1T3 [25:42-25:55]

22 (1.7)
 23 Kim: yah it's †kinda simi(h)la(h)r ri(h)gh(h)t? [.hhhh
 24 Fen: [yah=
 25 Kim: =similar than befo(h)re heh heh[heh
 26 Fen: [yah but (0.5)
 27 I think just the way: she interrupt is:: (0.3)
 28 mo::re (0.3) polite;= ((looks away and looks at Kim))
 29 Kim: =[RIGHT ((looks at Fen, points RT, and nods))
 30 Yoko: [hm ((looks at Fen, nods))
 31 Fen: yah
 32 (1.6)



After a 1.7-second pause, Kim initiates her assessment of Wen's action by formulating it as *kind of similar* to the previous tasks, in which the disagreements

were strong and direct. As Kim begins her turn in line 23, she shifts her gaze from her transcript to Fen. When she produces the tag question *right?* with laughter tokens, she leans her upper body forward in the direction of Fen. Through Kim's gaze and body orientation, it is clear that Fen is selected as the addressed recipient and that her display of reciprocity and affiliation is relevant and preferred. In overlap with Kim's laughter, Fen, with her gaze down, quickly responds with an agreement token *yah* (line 24). Kim then repeats her assessment in line 25 while shifting her gaze from Fen to Lily. Again in overlap with Kim's laughter, Fen begins her disagreeing response with *yah but*, followed by a 0.5-second pause. Up till now, Fen had been averting her gaze away from Kim, the prior speaker. As Fen utters the epistemic marker *I think* in line 27, she brings her gaze up. And when Fen proceeds to say *the way*: with prosodic emphasis, she moves her gaze to Kim and thus achieves mutual gaze with her. In this instance, we can see that Fen neither initiates her disagreement immediately nor brings her gaze to Kim at the initiation of her disagreement turn. Fen's assessment of Wen's disagreement as *more polite* (line 28) marks a contrast to Kim's previously proffered assessment. By adding the question intonation at the end of her assessment, Fen attempts to pursue Kim's affiliation with her assessment. With no gap between turns, Kim immediately says *RIGHT* with loud volume, points her right thumb toward Fen, maintains mutual gaze with her, and produces a series of head nods. In doing so, Kim vocally and visually formulates her response as a strong display of agreement and as a shift in her stance toward Wen's performance in the video task. Similar to the cases discussed earlier, Fen's gaze toward the prior speaker, Kim, takes place "later" than the initiation of the disagreement, whereas Kim's gaze toward the prior speaker, Fen, is initiated at the beginning of her agreeing response. Through these observations, it becomes evident that gaze direction is a constitutive part of the recipients' affiliation or disaffiliation with the stance expressed by the prior speaker.

As we have observed so far, and in contrast with the delivery of agreement, disagreeing parties do not direct their gaze at the disagreed-with party until later in the turn. Their gaze orientation is built as “dispreferred” in conjunction with their vocal production in disagreement sequences. This close analysis shows how participants exploit eye gaze as an important resource to communicate their divergent stances toward the evaluated event. The organizational use of eye gaze becomes more pronounced in the following “agreement-plus-disagreement” sequences (Pomerantz, 1984a), otherwise known as the familiar “yes, but...” format. The interactions in the “yes, but...” sequences provide compelling evidence for the subtle coordination between gaze and stance display.

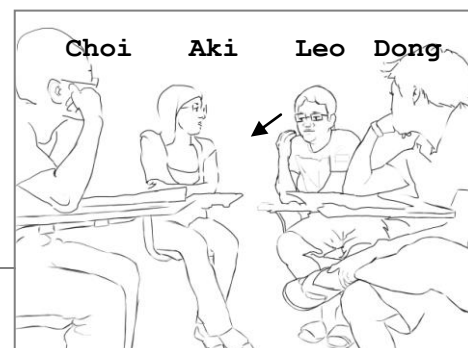
Gaze shift in “yes, but...” disagreement

In cases where agreement is relevant, prefacing disagreement with a delayed agreeing response, or what Schegloff (2007) describes as “pro-forma” agreement, is a common practice for disagreement. The most prevalent format is to initiate a disagreement turn with “yes, but...”. In this section, the analysis will focus on participants’ gaze shifts in agreement-plus-disagreement sequences.

In Excerpt 4.14, Leo offers a differing point of view from Choi’s opinion that if he disagreed, he would interrupt the prior speaker to express his opinion.¹⁸

4.14 CG2T1 [9:24-9:35]

- 331 (1.5)
 332 Choi: °uh°
 333 (0.5)
 334 Leo: >okay< yah: but I think (0.3) we can arrange our thinking
 335 while we (0.6) listen (0.3) [others’ opinion [↓so



¹⁸ Excerpt 6.8 in Chapter 6 occurs right before Excerpt 4.14.

336 Dong: [((nods))
 337 Choi: [yah [uh-huh=
 338 Aki: =yah:: ((looks at Leo))
 339 (1.4)

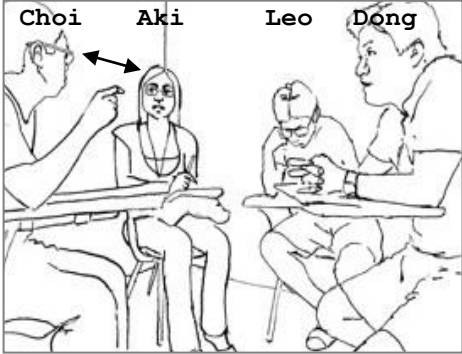
After Choi's assessment comes to an end, no uptake is forthcoming as indicated by the pauses in lines 331 and 333. Choi's intervening soft-spoken acknowledgement token is produced with his gaze down, displaying disengagement with the previous activity. Choi continues to gaze downward even when Leo's gaze reaches him and the latter launches into his turn with >okay< *yah*: (line 334). However, prompted by Leo's talk, all three participants direct their gaze toward Leo at his production of *but*. It is at this moment that Choi's gaze arrives at Leo, resulting in momentary mutual gaze between the two. When Leo proceeds to deliver the epistemic marker *I think*, he breaks off the mutual gaze he had with Choi by bringing his gaze down to the space in front of him until the end of line 334. As he utters *while* in line 335, he returns his gaze to Choi. They maintain their mutual gaze for the rest of Leo's turn.

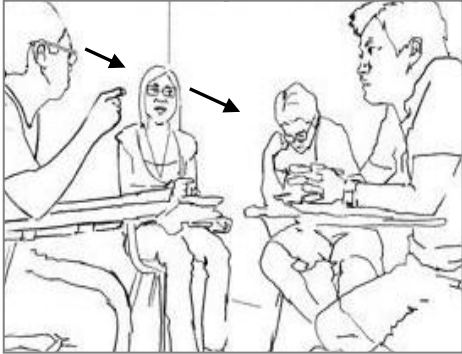
In this agreement-plus-disagreement sequence, we see that Leo directs his gaze toward Choi for the agreement token and shifts his gaze away right after the disagreed-with party (Choi) brings his gaze toward him. The synchronization between Leo's visual and vocal behavior reveals the critical role that eye gaze plays in his disaffiliative display. Excerpt 4.15 presents a similar case.

Prior to the segment in Excerpt 4.15, Choi made the assessment that Helen, the female student in the video, was *rude* because she interrupted Ken's talk (see Excerpt 6.29). We join the conversation as Aki provides a different opinion on the topic.

4.15 CG2T1 [6:47-7:00]

- 189 (0.3) ((Choi looks at Aki))
- 190 Aki: yah ::, ↑but [I um[::::
- 191 Choi: [yah_i ((looks at Choi))
- Choi Aki Leo Dong




- 192 Dong: [oh[:::: ((looks at Choi, Aki, nods))
- 193 Leo: [hm[:::: ((looks down))
- 194 (0.5)
- 195 Aki: I also think um:: Ken talk too mu(h)ch °hhhh°
- 196 Choi: ya(h)h [ya(h)h yah yah ((looks at Aki))
- 197 Aki: [HEH HEH heh [heh heh
- 198 Leo: [heh heh
- 199 Choi: [yah yah yah yah] ((looks at Aki))
- 200 Aki: [s(h)o(h)[:::: Helen] wants to s[top] his talking

When Aki prefaces her disagreement turn with the delayed agreement token *yah* (line 190), she maintains mutual gaze with the prior speaker, Choi. Aki then shifts her gaze away from Choi and toward the space in front of her when her lengthening agreement token *yah::* trails off. This gaze shift occurs right before she utters the contrastive token *but* and before Choi moves his gaze to Dong and directs the question *yah_i* to him (line 191). When Dong's lengthening *oh::* (line 192) comes toward an end, both Dong and Choi disengage their mutual gaze and shift their gazes toward Aki while Aki's hesitation marker *um::* is still underway (line 190). In this brief interaction, Aki first achieves mutual gaze with the prior speaker, Choi, when making her claim of agreement, and then moves her gaze away from Choi as soon as she presents her disaffiliative stance.

What has just been described in the “yes, but...” format provides further evidence for the reflexive relationship between gaze orientation and preference structure. While the disagreeing party maintains his or her gaze toward the disagreed-with party for the agreement tokens, gaze shift is conducted when a divergent stance is introduced. The delicate timing of the participants’ gaze direction shows how they are sensitive to the actions they are engaged in and the ways in which they coordinate their embodied practices to those actions.

In this section, we have examined cases in which the participants’ gazes are utilized as a meaning-making practice that characterizes disagreement as dispreferred. Different from prompt agreement sequences in which the participants literally see “eye to eye” on the evaluated event, delayed disagreement sequences co-occur with the recipients’ looking away from the disagreed-with party and sometimes toward another visually available addressee. In doing so, the disagreeing recipients visually mark their stances as not in line with the proffered assessment.

This observation is further reinforced in the common “yes, but...” format in disagreement turns. Whereas the agreement part co-occurs with the recipients’ looking at the prior speaker, the disagreement part involves cutting off mutual gaze.¹⁹ Notably, other embodied practices of affiliation, such as pointing at the prior speaker, body orientations, and head movements, are absent in the delivery of disagreement in this data. The recipients, then, not only avert their gaze from the prior speaker when displaying a disaffiliative stance, but also keep other forms of bodily conduct to a minimum—just as vocal features are deployed to minimize “the occurrences of overly stated disagreements” (Pomerantz, 1984a, p. 76; see also Pomerantz & Heritage, 2012)²⁰, visual actions are also reduced to mitigate disagreements. Thus, disagreement

¹⁹ Haddington (2006) borrowed the term “cut-off gaze” from Argyle (1975) to describe a gaze shift that precedes a divergent stance display.

²⁰ Pomerantz and Heritage (2012) summarize the principle for preference organization as “If possible,

is assembled as a dispreferred response through the intricate coordination between vocal and visual actions.

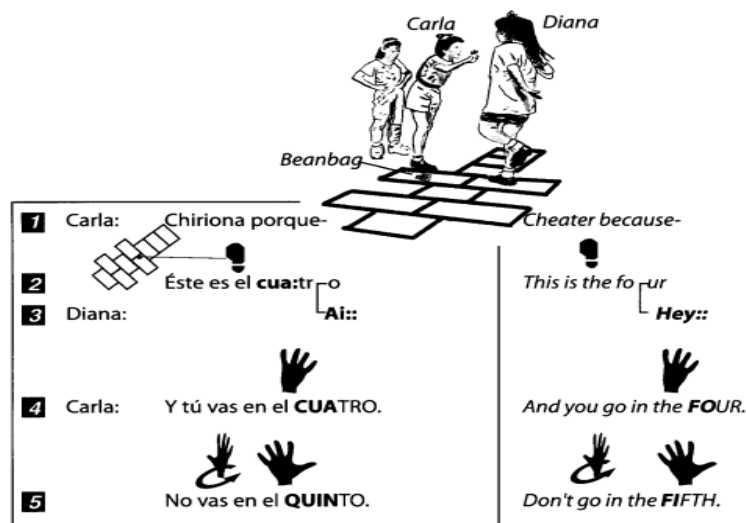
As the excerpts have shown, one's gaze direction and an action's preference status are closely associated. While a preferred action is verbally and visually amplified, a dispreferred action is verbally and visually minimized. Following this pattern, it is reasonable to postulate that in situations where disagreement is performed as preferred, recipients would keep their gaze toward the prior speaker. Such participants might also use other gestural and body movements that are characteristic of preferred responses. However, in the current participant discussion data, there is no case where disagreement is delivered as preferred. To examine whether the recipients would maintain mutual gaze with prior speakers in disagreement as preferred sequences, we will now turn to Goodwin's hopscotch example (2000a), which affords us further insight into the gaze orientation utilized in doing disagreement as preferred.

4.6.3. Establish Mutual Gaze in Disagreement as Preferred

Consider Goodwin's hopscotch example (2000a) again. We examined the segment's subsequent talk in Excerpt 4.1, where the focus was on how Carla modifies her participation in concert with Diana's engagement display. In this section, the analysis focuses on Carla and Diana's gazes and other bodily behavior during their dispute.

avoid or minimize a stated disagreement" (p. 214).

4.16 (Goodwin, 2000a, p. 1497)



In line 1, Carla displays her disagreement with Diana's move on the hopscotch grid by calling her a cheater. The accusation is performed while Carla walks up to Diana, achieves mutual gaze with her, and leans her upper body forward to stop Diana from jumping further through the grid. It is in this configuration of gaze and body orientation that Carla initiates the dispute.

Carla elaborates on her accusation of Diana as a cheater in lines 4 and 5 by positioning numeric hand shapes in front of Diana's face. From Carla's vocal and visual actions, it is evident that she performs her disagreement as a preferred rather than dispreferred response. The visual features associated with preferred actions are clearly present in Carla's bodily conduct, such as gazing toward Diana, leaning toward her, and gesturing in Diana's line of sight. The hopscotch example demonstrates that when disagreement is designed as preferred, it is vocally and visually maximized rather than minimized, and, as a result, the disagreement escalates into a challenge to the prior speaker's stance. Therefore, while mutual gaze is used to foster a connection between participants in agreement-as-preferred sequences, it also functions to widen the divide between participants in disagreement-as-preferred sequences, displaying a threat, disaffiliation, and aggression (Ellsworth, 1975;

Ellsworth et al., 1972; Ellsworth & Langer, 1976).

The foregoing analysis lends further empirical support to the relationship between visual phenomena and preference structure, and in particular, the reflexive relationship between gaze orientation and an action's preference status. Additionally, Excerpt 4.16 shows that gaze is not inherently affiliative. Whether one's gaze does affiliative interactional work depends on the sequential position of the vocal context that it is tied with.²¹ To understand the gaze pattern in disagreement as preferred sequences, more examples are certainly needed in this area.

So far we have examined the vocal and visual delivery of doing agreement and disagreement in the assessment activity. Based on the examples presented, it is clear that participants display their affiliation and disaffiliation with assessments through the interplay of language and embodied conduct. According to Pomerantz (1984a), features associated with preference structure are resources that speakers use to project or anticipate recipients' responses. If a speaker anticipates an imminent dispreferred response, he or she may undertake measures to minimize the chance of its occurrence. In the next section, we will consider cases where the speaker's action is built to prefer agreement and examine the interactional practices by which the speaker deals with recipients' lack of affiliation in the conversation.

4.6.4. Gaze Direction in the Pursuit of Agreement

If a speaker orients to agreement as the relevant next action but the recipient shows difficulty in responding, the speaker may take active steps to remedy the situation. Pomerantz (1984b) observes that in English language data, "clarifying, reviewing the assumed common knowledge, and modifying one's position are ways that speakers pursue responses" (p. 153). Similar observations were also made by

²¹ Stivers (2008) made the same observation that nodding works as a token of affiliation in mid-telling positions and potentially as a token of disalignment and even disaffiliation at story completions.

Mori (1999) in her Japanese language data: she notes that speakers elaborate, justify, or qualify prior assertions in order to pursue an affirmative response. Likewise, when agreement as a preferred response is not forthcoming, a speaker may reflect on what might have gone wrong in the prior turn and modify their subsequent actions to pursue the preferred response. It should be noted that remedy actions are carried out by the speaker with reference to recipients' engagement in the activity in progress.

Goodwin (1996) writes about the cooperative process of agreement:

Agreement is not something *known* in an individual brain but something *done* in collaboration with other. It is not a static state of knowledge but instead an interactive process that stretches across differentiated parties within a distributed field of action. The very existence of an agreement requires the coparticipation of others. (p. 399)

Goodwin emphasizes the collaborative nature of agreement and the display of engagement as the prerequisite for an agreement to become possible. Goodwin's previous work (1981) has explicated the role of the gaze in sustaining the coordination of face-to-face spoken interaction. Regarding the gaze's relevance to remedy work, Kidwell (2006) notes:

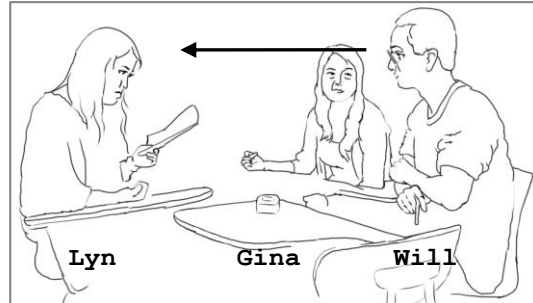
Someone who refuses to gaze at another is refusing engagement, or at the very least, posing troubles that make the continuation of engagement very difficult. Procuring someone's gaze, then, is part of the work that may be undertaken to remedy, in a variety of ways, troubles with engagement. (p. 745)

More recently, Stivers and Rossano (2010) also identified speaker gaze as one of the response-mobilizing features that place pressure on recipients to produce a response.²² In this section, I will focus on the deployment of speaker gaze as a resource to pursue uptake and affiliation in the assessment activity. Excerpt 4.17 illustrates this point.

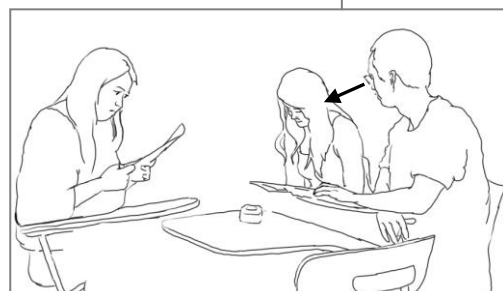
²² The other response-mobilizing features suggested by Stivers and Rossano (2010) are interrogative lexico-morphosyntax, interrogative prosody, and recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry.

4.17 P3T2 [11:36-12:15]

29 (1.1) (all look down))
 30 Lyn: so how effective is their disagreement? ((looks down))
 31 (2.4)
 32 Gina: hm:: ((looks down))



33 (0.7)
 34 Will: I don't think it's very (0.5) effective.
 35 (0.5)
 36 Will: because they (0.7) uh (1.5) they (.) they (0.9) I think
 37 they (0.4)um: (.) do- (0.4) doesn't listen to each
 38 other at all. ((looks down and looks at Gina))
 39 (0.5)
 40 Will: [↓right; ((looks at Gina))
 41 Gina: [.hhh ((smiles, looks down))
 42 (0.6)
 43 Will: they hold their own opinion and (0.5) they kinda
 44 interrupt each other. ((points LH at TS and looks at Lyn))
 45 (0.5)
 46 Lyn: hm[:((looks down))
 47 Will: [heh heh .hhh ((looks at Gina and down))
 48 (1.6)
 49 Gina: () ((looks down))
 50 (0.5)
 51 Gina: hm ((looks down))
 52 (1.6)
 53 Will: ↑not (0.4) they don't they don't wait until (0.7)
 54 other (.)uh other peoples are (0.5) finished talking
 55 (1.2)
 56 Will: °so::° ((looks at Gina))
 57 (0.4)



58 Gina: [yah:] ((looks down))
 59 Lyn: [but-] but I think it's getting better than the first=
 60 Gina: = heh heh [hhh r(h)i(h)ght= ((looks at Lyn and down))
 61 Will: [hm
 62 Lyn: =segm(h)ent uh hhh ((looks down))

In line 30, Lyn, with her gaze on her transcript, initiates a new discussion question. After some pauses (lines 31 and 33) and perturbations from Gina (line 32), Will makes an assessment that the video discussion they just watched is not really effective (line 34). As Will produces the assessment term *effective* with falling intonation, he brings his gaze from his transcript to Lyn, the prior speaker. Will continues to gaze at Lyn during the subsequent pause in line 35 as if he is waiting for Lyn to bring her gaze to him and respond to his previous assessment. With no recipient assessment forthcoming, Will extends his preceding turn with the causal connective *because* and then introduces the information that he based his assessment on. In addition to the causal extension, Will uses the extreme case formulation (Pomerantz, 1986) *doesn't listen to each other at all* to justify his prior assertion by means of exaggeration. His delivery is marked with multiple pauses, false starts, and gazing down at his transcript. When Will's turn comes to completion in line 38 with *at all*, he returns his gaze to Lyn and then quickly shifts his gaze to Gina, visibly selecting the two as his addressed recipients (Lerner, 2003). However, neither Gina nor Lyn provide immediate uptake to Will's justification. While gazing at Gina, Will adds the tag question *right?* in line 40 to explicitly pursue affiliation from her. With her gaze turn downward in the direction of Will's transcript, Gina initiates quiet laughter but does not really display her recipient stance. Following Gina's response silence, Will further clarifies his earlier assessment in lines 43 and 44. Along with his co-occurring talk, Will's left hand is on his transcript and is the object of his gaze, orienting the transcript as the point of reference for his ongoing talk. When his turn

concludes with *each other* (line 44), Will shifts his gaze from his transcript to Lyn. After another 0.5-second pause, Lyn utters an acknowledgement token while gazing down at her transcript. In overlap with Lyn's response, Will produces some laughter tokens while continuing to gaze at Lyn. When obtaining Lyn's response again proves futile, Will shifts his gaze to Gina, who also has her gaze down. In the face of Lyn and Gina's minimal engagement display, Will eventually brings his gaze down and moves his left hand off the transcript during the 1.6-second pause in line 48, indicating his withdrawal from soliciting their responses in the assessment activity. From lines 48 to 52, all three participants' gazes remain downward, thus publicly displaying their disengagement from each other.

When Will makes another attempt to engage his co-participants in line 53, he gazes down and places his left hand back on his transcript, reorienting the transcript as a meaningful part of his elaboration. Will restates his earlier assertion about how the video speakers interrupt each other's talk. As he utters the final word *talking* in line 54, he moves his gaze from his transcript to Gina and holds his gaze through the subsequent pause in line 55. However, Gina neither responds nor brings her gaze toward Will. With no verbal or visual response to his multiple trials, Will, in line 56, produces a "stand-alone so" in a soft voice to "prompt a recipient to acknowledge the completion of a turn and thus the action it accomplishes" (Raymond, 2004, p. 193). According to Raymond (2004), "so," as a stand-alone object, is left unfinished by design in order to invite a recipient's participation, which may have been lacking. He further points out that "by not adding further 'content' to a turn or action, the 'so' invites the recipient to make something more out of what is already available" (p. 211).

As a result of Will's reciprocity "prompting" through talk, gestures, and gaze, Gina finally offers her acknowledgement in line 58 while Lyn launches her

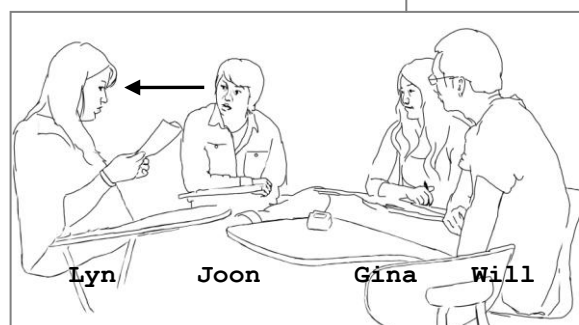
disagreeing response in line 59. Lyn argues that the current video task is *better* in comparison to the first video task. In other words, it is not as *ineffective* as Will has asserted. As a result of Lyn's assertion, the contrast in Lyn and Will's perspectives is made apparent. Similar to our previous observations, Lyn's disagreement is delivered with her gaze down, whereas Gina's immediate agreement is delivered with her gaze toward Lyn (line 60).

In this instance, we can see that Will deploys various vocal and visual practices to deal with the absence of vocal and visual behaviors on his recipients' part, i.e., minimal response, delayed uptake, and gaze aversion. Specifically, Will makes several attempts to pursue Lyn and Gina's affiliation through justification, elaboration, the tag question *right?*, and the stand alone *so*. Aside from his vocal reparative work, Will constantly brings his gaze to his recipients when his turn comes to an end, thereby visibly eliciting their reciprocity and making relevant their display of a recipient stance.

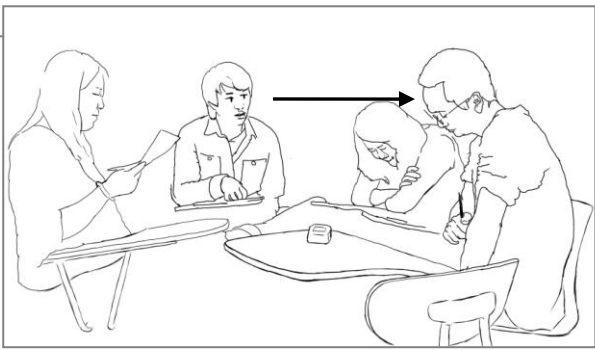
The following excerpt also exemplifies the use of gaze in the speaker's pursuit of agreement. The segment starts with Joon's positive assessment of the video task the group had just watched. Facing a lack of affiliative display from his recipients, Joon justifies his assessment and mobilizes gaze direction to seek the recipients' affiliation.

4.18 P3T5 [14:33-15:07]

352 (1.0)
 353 Joon: I- I think it's actually working cause (1.0) uh hhh
 354 actually (.) BRAD persuaded Yuki and Jon. ((looks at Lyn))



355 (2.7) ((Joon looks at Will. Will nods slightly))
 356 Joon: right? cause like- (.) JON and YUKI said (0.6) especially
 357 JON said (0.3) um: (0.3) I think united states (0.4) united
 358 nations can do that, ((looks down))
 359 (1.9)
 360 Joon: but- and then YUKI agree that. ((looks down))
 361 (1.2)
 362 Joon: and then (.) but after BRAD said it's kinda hard
 363 to do that (.) and JON just changes his mind.
 364 (0.6)
 365 Joon: \$and then\$ Yuki just changes his (0.3) her mind too.
 366 (0.4)



367 Lyn: .hhh ((looks down))
 368 (0.5)
 369 Joon: you know what I'm saying? ((looks down))
 370 (0.8)

In lines 353 and 354, Joon proffers a positive assessment of the video task, followed by a casual elaboration to help his co-participants understand his assessment. When Joon puts his right index finger on his transcript at the production of *actually* in line 354, all three participants shift their gaze toward Joon's transcript, thereby orienting to it as a relevant part of his subsequent talk. As Joon's turn in line 354 comes to its completion with the name *Jon*, he withdraws his pointing gesture and shifts his gaze from the transcript to Lyn, thus terminating his speakership and indicating Lyn's recipient assessment as the relevant next action. At the beginning of the 2.7-second silence (line 355), Joon remains gazing at Lyn. When Joon is unable to secure Lyn's gaze, he moves his gaze to Will, which results in a state of mutual gaze with and a couple of slight head nods from Will. In performing this action, Will

claims some sort of understanding of Joon's stance. Considering the absence of an explicit uptake from the recipients, Joon puts his right index finger back on the transcript immediately before he initiates the tag question *right?* (line 356). Joon's question as well as the "returned" pointing gesture serves to re-invite the recipients' attention to his prior assertion.

Right after the tag question, Joon begins another causal extension to provide additional information on how he arrived at his proffered assessment. By placing prosodic emphasis on the video speakers' names (i.e., JON, YUKI, and BRAD) and animating their utterances (as in lines 357, 358, 362 and 363), Joon directs the recipients' attention to the individual video speakers' actions and legitimizes his initial assertion that *Brad persuaded Yuki and Jon* in line 354. The extension, which spans lines 356-365, is accompanied with Joon's gaze and him pointing at his transcript. As soon as Joon's elaboration comes to its completion in line 365, he shifts his gaze from the transcript to Will and continues to gaze at Will until line 368. Through his gaze, Joon visibly performs a request for Will's coparticipation. Despite Joon's visible action, Will gazes downward, thus disaligning himself from what Joon proposes to be relevant. In response to the possibility that the recipients are not fully engaged in his talk, Joon brings his gaze down and raises the question in line 369, *you know what I'm saying?*, to explicitly prompt the recipients' acknowledgement.

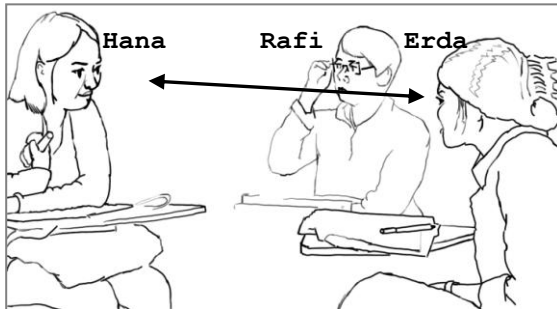
In this example, Joon deals with the recipients' lack of immediate uptake through causal extensions, prosodic emphasis, the tag question *right?*, and an interrogative question. These vocal actions are reinforced by his gazing at the addressed recipients in an attempt to pursue their alignment with the activity in progress as well as their affiliation with his stance.²³ Again, Joon's solicit-for-attention gaze takes place at the

²³ Following the distinction made by Stivers (2008) and Stivers, Mondada, and Steensig (2011), the term alignment is used in this study to describe actions that facilitate the activity in progress, whereas affiliation is used to describe actions that support the affective stance taken by the speaker.

completion of his turn, when the transition of speakership becomes relevant. Let us consider one final example in this respect.

The following example is broken down into two excerpts due to its length. In Excerpt 4.19, the participants are discussing the first question on the transcript (i.e., What do you think Brad and Amy are doing in lines 24, 25, and 45? What kind of action is this?). In response, Hana initiates a fairly positive assessment of Brad and Amy's disagreement in the video task, while Erda issues a different assessment on the evaluated event. Given their divergent perspectives, in Excerpt 4.20, Erda performs remedial work, including both vocal and visual practices, to pursue Hana's affiliation. However, Hana refuses to align herself as the recipient of Erda's remedy work, which eventually leads to a change in the addressed recipient. The following analysis focuses on Erda's gaze orientation from doing disagreement to pursuing agreement.

4.19 CG3T4 [10:52-11:32]

- 21 (0.8)
- 22 Erda: I think °it's effective but some other [people °
- 23 Hana:  [it is:: very um
- 24 idol:: discussion I think uh .hhh they:: (0.3) ↑before
- 25 they say their opinion, (0.3) they:: (0.4) um:: (0.8)
- 26 they:::: show::: (0.8) ↑uh:: um:: ↑what (0.3) they
- 27 understand like (.) oh yah that's a very uh effective way
- 28 like [this so (0.3) and then (0.5) and then talk about
- 29 Erda: [°ye:s ° ((nods))
- 30 Hana: their (0.4) their own opinion and it's [very (0.6)
- 31 Erda: [°uh-huh °
- 32 Hana: ↑good (0.3) attitude I think.

33 (0.8)

34 Hana: hm::

35 (0.9)

36 Erda: ↓yah[↑:: but (0.5) I think some sometimes it sound

37 Hana: [hm::

38 Erda: like contrast =

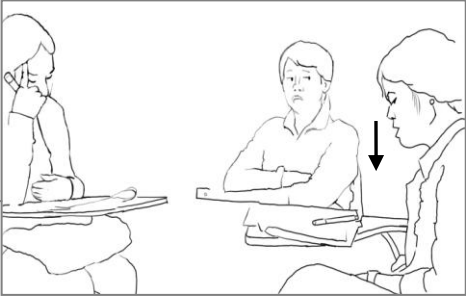
39 Hana: =hm-mm[::

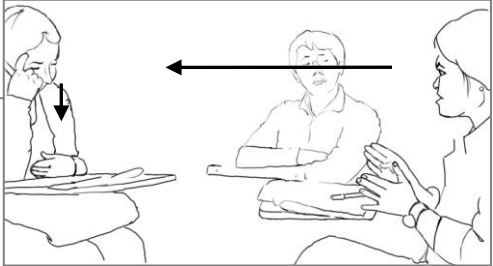
40 Erda: [attitude.((looks at Hana))

41 (0.3)

42 Erda: hhh ((smiles and looks down))

43 (0.5)





In line 22, Erda's gaze is down, and she seems to be quietly reading her transcript. When Hana begins her response in line 23, Erda immediately finishes her turn, leans her upper body forward, and brings her gaze to Hana. The way Erda realigns her gaze and body to the activity reveals a shift in her participation frameworks from an individual to an interactive process. As Hana utters the assessment term *idol* (line 24), she smiles and shifts her gaze from her transcript to Erda. On achieving mutual gaze with Erda, Hana introduces the information that she bases her assessment on. Hana's turn in lines 25 and 26 is marked with pauses and sound stretches, and she moves her gaze away from Erda and engages in word searches to clarify her assessment. During these pauses, the addressed recipient, Erda, continues gazing at Hana and anticipates relevant opportunities to display her reciprocity by producing head nods. In line 27, Hana animates the video speakers' words, *oh yah that's a very effective way*, to justify her positive assessment. Erda claims her understanding by nodding and uttering °yes° (line 29). When Erda produces the soft-spoken continuer °uh-huh° in line 31, she withdraws her gaze from Hana and brings it to her transcript. As Hana restates her positive assessment of the

video task (line 32), Erda remains gazing downward and nods her head slowly and slightly. Once Hana finds her addressed recipient is no longer visibly attending to her, she too looks away (line 33).

Erda, with her gaze downcast, prefaces her disagreement turn with the much delayed agreement token ↓yah↑:: (line 36), spoken with sound stretches and a rather reluctant prosody. Erda then utters the contrastive marker *but* to introduce her disaffiliative stance (lines 36, 38 and 40). Note that Erda gazes away from Hana at the initiation of her disagreeing response, which follows our previous observations about the dispreferred gaze state in doing disaffiliation. By line 38, Erda has brought her gaze back up and shifts it toward Hana (lines 38 and 40), but Hana brings her gaze downward at the production of the acknowledgement tokens (lines 37 and 39). By virtue of Hana's gaze direction, Erda drops her gaze as soon as she ends her turn in line 40.

In this excerpt, it is clear that Erda vocally and visually builds her disagreement as a dispreferred response. As a result of the disagreement, the contrast in Erda and Hana's perspectives is established, making the pursuit of agreement the relevant next action. Note that Hana and Erda's respective assessment terms (i.e., *idol discussion* in line 24 and *contrast* in line 38) are produced at the occurrence of their gaze return to the addressed recipient. The placement of the gaze direction indicates their orientation to the assessment as "something that can be responded to, and participated in, in a special way" (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992, p. 157). However, in both cases, the recipient assessment is either delayed or absent, which is clearly consequential to how Erda and Hana organize their subsequent actions in the next excerpt.

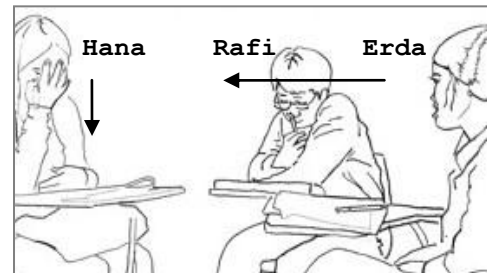
4.20 CG3T4 [11:32-12:00]

43 (0.5)

44 Erda: ↑but (.) >some other people might argue with it<

45 (1.4) ((Erda looks at Hana))
 46 Erda: ↑yah: (0.6) he he he he has two: points
 47 [in his (0.5) discussion ↓I think.
 48 Hana: [hm: ((looks down))
 49 (1.5) ((Erda looks at Hana))
 50 Rafi: hm[::
 51 Erda: [>HE- he-< (.) >he he he< doesn't <totally> (0.4)

52 <totally> disagree
 53 (1.0) ((Erda looks at Hana))
 54 Hana: hm ((looks down))
 55 (0.6) ((Erda looks at Hana))
 56 Erda: but still has some (.) idea to support ((looks at Hana))
 57 (1.1) ((Erda looks at Hana))
 58 Hana: hm: ((looks down))
 59 (3.9) ((Erda looks down))
 60 Erda: how about you what do you ↑think?
 61 (0.4)



While gazing down at her transcript, Erda utters one line of Brad's dialogue to clarify her opinion (line 44). When her turn nears its end, Erda redirects her gaze to Hana, providing Hana with an opportunity and a relevant place to display her reciprocity. However, Hana's gaze remains disengaged during the subsequent 1.4-second pause in line 45. As Erda initiates her turn in line 46, she bring her gaze down to her transcript and produces several restarts of the pronoun *he*. At the moment Erda utters the final *he*, she signals the number two to foreground what she is about to say. The speech affiliate (Schegloff, 1984) *two:* is then produced with prosodic emphasis and sound stretches, and in conjunction with Erda returning her gaze to

Hana. With her gaze down, Hana only minimally responds with a *hm*: and does not visibly attend to Erda's gesture (line 48). While gazing at Hana, Erda changes her numeric signal into a pointing gesture and points at the transcript during the pause in line 47. By pointing at the transcript, Erda orients the item as a relevant element in her following description and prepares her recipient for the word that the pointing is associated with. After Erda utters the vocal counterpart *discussion*, she ends the turn with a post-positioned *I think*, spoken with final intonation to signal turn completion and to pursue a recipient response (Kärkkäinen, 2003).

However, once again, Erda's attempt at securing Hana's reciprocity fails. During the subsequent 1.5-second silence in line 49, Hana's gaze remains averted from Erda, even though Erda gazes intently at Hana. By virtue of Hana's engagement display (Goodwin, 1981), Erda provides further clarification by bringing her gaze down and pointing at the transcript. When Erda ends her turn with the verb *disagree* (line 52), she shifts her gaze from the transcript to Hana, indicating Hana's reciprocity display as the relevant next action. From lines 53 to 55, Erda continues to gaze toward Hana, waiting for Hana to visibly establish herself as the addressed recipient. Regardless of Erda's persistent request for co-participation, though, Hana consistently refuses to realign her orientation to the activity in a way that Erda proposes to be relevant.

In the face of a non-gazing recipient, Erda builds an additional component to the preceding turn by using a *but*-prefaced turn in line 56 to continue what she said previously. Following a 1.1-second silence (line 57), Hana responds minimally and keeps her gaze down (line 58), showing her reluctance and resistance to comply with the ongoing action (Goodwin, 1981; Kidwell, 2006). It should be noted that prior to this turn, Erda had kept her gaze on Hana. When nothing other than minimal response is forthcoming, Erda withdraws her gaze from Hana altogether (line 59) and, in doing so, refuses to further pursue Hana's co-participation. After the noticeable 3.9-second

pause, Erda moves her gaze from the transcript to Rafi and leans her upper body toward him. As Erda restructures her gaze and reorients her body, she initiates the question *how about you what do you think?* (line 60), visibly selecting Rafi as her new recipient and establishing a new speaker-listener relationship.

In this example, we can see how Erda deploys talk (clarification, turn increment, and prosodic emphasis), gaze, and gestures to pursue Hana's co-participation, which is the very foundation that agreement builds on. However, Hana's minimal response and persistent gaze aversion disable the speaker-listener alignment and make visible her resistance to take a stance that matches Erda's assessment. Even though Hana never verbally delivers a disagreeing response, her minimal response and gaze aversion are suggestive of a disaffiliative stance. Schegloff (2007) notes that "a dispreferred response may be mitigated even to the vanishing point, i.e., where the dispreferred response is not in fact articulated at all" (p. 64). Illustrating Schegloff's observation, Hana's willingness to give a dispreferred response is noticeably absent, not only verbally, but also visually.

In this section, we have examined cases where the speaker, following a response silence, engages in various forms of reparative work. When the preferred action is not projectable, the speaker takes verbal measures, including clarification, causal extensions, tag or interrogative questions, prosodic emphasis, and animation of the video speakers' utterances, to have the initial assessment properly understood and responded to. The verbal pursuit of reciprocity is regularly accompanied by the speaker's gaze display, which holds recipients accountable for responding (Stivers & Rossano, 2010). The speaker often brings his or her gaze to recipients at a transition relevance place, making visible the type of co-participation necessary for the talk in progress. In contrast to the speaker's verbal and visual pursuits, recipients' diminished engagement is implicated in their minimal vocal behavior (i.e., lack of uptake,

minimal response) as well as their corresponding minimal visual actions (i.e., gaze aversion).

Another visible action worth noting is the speakers' recurrent pointing and gazing at the transcript, which not only creates a shared visual focus for the telling, but also indicates its relevance for the speakers' remedy work. Just like the hopscotch grid and Munsell chart in Goodwin (2000a), the workbook in Goodwin (2007a), the textbooks in Mori and Hasegawa (2009), and the handout in Sharma (2012)²⁴, the transcript in the provided assessment activity creates a public "reference space" (Goodwin, 2000a) for the speaker to organize relevant courses of action with recognizable visibility. Therefore, it is through the ensemble of potentially relevant multimodal resources (i.e. verbal, embodied, and material) that the speaker pursues recipients' affiliative stance.

4.7. Summary

In this chapter, I have attempted to explicate the relationship between bodily behavior and preference organization during the participants' small group interactions, with special attention paid to their gaze direction in the delivery of agreement and disagreement with assessments. The findings empirically demonstrate that embodied action is a constitutive feature of preference organization, not isolated from its vocal counterpart. Specifically, these observations show that gaze is one resource that the recipients deploy for displaying whether their stances are in line with that of the speaker. Despite several possible gaze trajectories in a multiparty conversation, the participants appear to manage them in an orderly manner. In regards to preferred response gaze directions, this study shows that the recipients tend to gaze at the prior

²⁴ The students in Sharma's (2010) study also used the handout as a source of authority to defend their oppositional stances in collaborative writing tasks.

speaker without looking away.²⁵ Contrastingly, when engaging in dispreferred responses, the recipients do not gaze toward the prior speaker at the turn's initiation and only achieve mutual gaze later in the turn. When a preferred response is not forthcoming, the speaker's verbal pursuit is tied to his or her gaze pursuit while the recipients' lack of uptake is tied to persistent gaze withdrawal. As a result, gaze orientation serves as a meaning-making practice that is not only integral to the display of affiliation and disaffiliation, but also reflective of an action's preference status. In this light, the recipients' gaze toward the prior speaker closely mirrors the positioning of the vocal action, i.e., the contiguous or delayed initiation of the action (Schegloff, 2007). Additionally, other forms of bodily conduct, such as head nods, pointing gestures, and body movements, are maximized in preferred actions but minimized in dispreferred actions.

This study and these observations afford us a holistic view of how the participants employ diverse multimodal resources (e.g., talk, gaze, gestures, body posture, and artifacts) to systematically assemble the trajectory of preference structure and make sense of their co-participants' assessment actions. Engaging in a multimodal analysis of interaction enables us to move beyond the traditional sequential understanding of preference organization and take into account the public visibility and orderliness embedded in an action's unfolding sequential structure. By looking at social actions from a multimodal perspective, the boundaries between linguistic and nonlinguistic behaviors dissolve as language and embodied conduct work together to constitute a coherent course of action (Deppermann, 2013; Goodwin, 2000a, 2007a; Hayashi, 2003; Hayashi et al., 2002; Jones & LeBaron, 2002; Lindström & Mondada, 2009; Sidnell, 2006; Stivers & Sidnell, 2005; Streeck et al., 2011b). Agreement and

²⁵ The observation is based on agreeing responses that are delivered immediately upon completion of the prior turn, or before the prior turn comes to completion. Agreement that is delayed might have a different gaze pattern.

disagreement, then, are not delivered exclusively through the stream of speech, but sequentially organized in a fine coordination between talk and embodied actions. Likewise, participants' assessment activities are understood as publicly visible multimodal interactions, where the participants see and act upon others' stance displays.

CHAPTER 5

PRAGMATIC NOTICING AS AN INTERACTIONAL PRACTICE

5.1. Introduction

In Chapter 4, we examined how pragmatic assessment is accomplished as a collaborative multiparty activity and multimodal interaction. The analysis provides the foundation for this chapter to reconceptualize noticing as empirically observable in local interaction, rather than as a hidden phenomenon of the individual mind. In Chapter 5, I will first outline a cognitive-psychological perspective on cognition as an individual phenomenon. Second, I will discuss ethnomethodology (EM) and CA's approaches to cognition and their application to classroom teaching and learning. Lastly, taking the discussion on EM and CA approaches to cognition as a point of departure, I will investigate specific ways in which the L2 speakers participating in this study register disagreement as noticeable and collaboratively organize their joint attention toward the pragmatic object in interaction.

5.2. Individual Cognition

From a cognitive-psychological perspective, cognition is considered the mental representations and processes that exist exclusively within an individual's mind. Therefore, to examine cognitive objects, such as knowledge, learning, memory, noticing, and awareness, one needs to study individual minds. A dominant line of inquiry in SLA uses this cognitive-processing perspective to investigate how individual learners develop their L2 abilities and what learner-external factors influence solitary learning processes and outcomes. Among the possible factors, Schmidt (1993, 1995, 2001) identified *noticing*, attention allocated to relevant learning objects, as the necessary condition for converting input (language available

in the environment) into intake (input that is attended to and internalized). Schmidt (1993) defines noticing as “registering the simple occurrence of some event” (p. 26). Tomlin and Villa (1994) further analyzed the attentional processes in SLA by identifying three separate but interrelated subsystems of attention: alertness, orientation, and detection. In their view, while alertness and orientation facilitate opportunities for detection, it is detection itself, “the cognitive registration of sensory stimuli” (p. 192), that is necessary for acquisition. Defining noticing as “detection within selective attention” (p. 199), Tomlin and Villa agree with Schmidt on the importance of noticing for successful SLA.

The noticing hypothesis (Schmidt, 1993, 1995, 2001) has been widely accepted in L2 learning in general and L2 pragmatic development in particular. In terms of pragmatic development, as Schmidt (2001) states, “one must attend to both the linguistic form of utterances and the relevant social and contextual features with which they are associated” (p. 30). In other words, pragmatic learning occurs when relevant pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic functions are noticed or registered by learners. Notably, the advent of the noticing hypothesis has been the driving force in advancing research on the effectiveness of instructional intervention and the role of attention in pragmatic development (e.g., Rose & Ng, 2001; Takahashi, 2001, 2005; Tateyama, 2001). Although this line of research uses experimental data to elucidate how learners comprehend and produce pragmatic objects in an L2, Kasper and Rose (2002) suggest that “to understand in detail the role of attention in input processing and speech production requires microanalytic study of online cognitive activity” (p. 31).²⁶ Their suggestion underscores the possibility of incorporating a socially oriented perspective to understand the conditions for noticing in actual interaction. To

²⁶ Although not microanalytic, there has been an incipient line of research using eye tracking technology as an instrument to explicitly examine the role of attention in SLA (e.g., Godfroid, 2010, 2012; Godfroid, Housen, & Boers, 2010; Smith, 2010; Winke, Godfroid, & Gass, 2013).

this end, I will now turn to EM and CA literature and discuss how cognition can be examined from a very different epistemological foundation.

5.3. Socially Distributed Cognition

EM is primarily concerned with the procedures that people use to make sense of their worlds and to generate order in their social lives (Garfinkel, 1967). The discipline fundamentally focuses on people's methods of engaging in everyday activities, which marks a radical shift from preexisting social norms that treat members as "cultural dopes" (Garfinkel, 1967, p.68). Specifically, EM takes an agnostic stance²⁷ toward viewing social order as the outcome of pre-established rules and acknowledges members' ability to account for their own actions as well as the actions of others. The commonsense knowledge that members draw on in managing social order are seen as observable and recognizable in character (Schegloff, 1991).

The EM perspective on cognition has been extended to the study of education, characterizing "teaching and learning as socially ordered and accomplished activities" (Kasper, 2008a). The order of classroom discourse has been the most fruitful theme in EM's study on education (e.g., McHoul, 1978, 1990; Mehan, 1979; Macbeth, 1990, 2004). For instance, McHoul's (1978) description of classroom turn-taking rules and Mehan's (1979) observation of Initiation-Response-Evaluation (IRE) sequences are early demonstrations of how the orderliness of classroom lessons is assembled in the everyday classroom interactions.

More recently, studies by Hester and Francis (2000), Macbeth (2000, 2003), Koschmann et al. (2005), Koschmann and Zemel (2009), and Koschmann (2011) present the most current EM perspective on educational phenomena in various instructional and professional contexts. These studies' analyses focus on "learning and

²⁷ See also Hopper's (2005) discussion on cognitive agnosticism.

teaching as it is accomplished and realized in its interactional context,” thereby demonstrating “the availability of cognitive activities” and respecifying them as locally ordered activities (Hester & Francis, 2000, p. 14). For example, Macbeth (2000) uses the metaphor of classrooms as “installations” and classroom instruction as “installing” knowledge. By installations, he means that classrooms are places where knowledge is assembled. With the knowledge already in place, teaching and learning are seen as a means to reveal such knowledge. Macbeth (2003) delineates the process of revealing as “a way of ‘looking and showing’ that is deeply social and discursive and reflexively constitutive of what indeed is found” (p. 258). Macbeth’s “classroom as installations” metaphor illustrates the interactional nature of knowledge display.

Following its ethnomethodological origin, CA seeks to explicate the sense-making procedures by which members manage and achieve intersubjective understandings in interaction (Markee, 2011; te Molder & Potter, 2005). From a CA perspective, talk-in-interaction is by itself co-constructed by participants in a moment-by-moment fashion. The word “co-construction” implies a joint and collaborative effort by speakers and recipients in a dynamically unfolding interactional process (Jacoby & Ochs, 1995). The term emphasizes the importance of viewing participants as active agents who employ a range of multimodal resources to modify their participation in concert with each other. In addition, CA highlights the significance of interaction as the fundamental locus of knowledge construction. Constructs that are predominantly conceptualized as intrapsychological matters, such as understanding, attitude, assessment, and intention, become publicly observable in participants’ practices through the displaying and ascribing of participants’ cognitive states in interaction (Potter & Edwards, 2012).

Central to CA is the concept of a coherent framework for the recurrent achievement of common understanding, which can be traced and described in

behavioral terms. Understanding-display devices (Sacks et al., 1974), such as the organization of repair and the turn-taking system, are built into the structures of interaction, making visible “the embeddedness, the inextricable intertwinedness, of cognition and interaction” (Schegloff, 1991, p. 152). The aim of CA is, therefore, to detail the interactional organization of “cognitive order” (Schegloff, 1992, p. 1296) and document the “micro-moments of socially distributed cognition” (Markee, 2000, p. 3) that are available for inquiry through members’ observable interactional conduct.

A number of CA studies have applied this understanding of cognition to language learning behavior so as to illustrate moments of *doing* learning and provide evidence of the cognitive displays that learning builds on, especially displayed understanding (Kasper, 2009; Kasper & Wagner, 2011; Markee, 2000, 2008, 2011; Markee & Seo, 2009; Mori & Hasegawa, 2009). Specifically, the analyses of these CA studies present a detailed account on the following issues: (1) how participants employ various semiotic resources to organize language learning activities; (2) how participants embody their cognitive states in interaction; and (3) how socially distributed cognition and the interactional organizations of language learning activities are mutually dependent. The analyses demonstrate CA’s capacity to respecify cognitive objects as processes constructed locally and managed publicly in interaction.

5.3.1. *Interactional Noticing*

Based on the interactional approach to noticing, Schegloff (2007) states that “an interactional noticing need not be engendered by a perceptual/cognitive one. And many (perhaps most) perceptual/cognitive noticings do not get articulated interactionally at all” (p. 87). Therefore, interactional noticing is not necessarily caused by a speaker’s private psychological state (as in Schmidt’s noticing hypothesis), but is a thoroughly public event. Schegloff further identifies noticing as “the type of sequence which sets into play the operation of a source/outcome

relationship” (p. 219).

From this perspective, noticing requires a source that precedes its occurrence and retrospectively marks a source as such.²⁸ Pursuing this concept of noticing, Hayashi (2009) examines how the Japanese response token *eh* is used by speakers in various sequential environments to propose that some kind of departure in the talk has been noticed and treated as noticeable in interaction. Likewise, Keisanen (2012) describes the features of drivers and passengers’ noticings of driving related trouble during in-car conversations. Keisanen argues that the attention required for the car drive is made visible in actual interaction and made relevant through the collaboration between the driver and passengers. Focusing on family interaction in cars, Goodwin and Goodwin (2012) investigate how speakers make use of “summonses, deictic terms, address terms, perceptual directives, and explanations” (p. 275) to bring about joint attention²⁹ and initiate collaborative orientation toward either the unfolding landscape outside the car or a textual artifact within the car. The speakers also utilize prosody, word choice, and embodied actions to display their stance toward the phenomena being attended to. The analyses of these studies explicate the systematic resources used in constructing noticing as socially coordinated and collaboratively achieved.

5.4. Analysis

It is this synthesis of EM and CA, which views cognition as socially distributed and interactionally manifest, that informs my analysis of the participating L2 speakers’ interactional noticing of various assessments on the pragmatic object, disagreement.

²⁸ Schegloff (2007) calls sequences that involve a source/outcome relationship as “retro-sequences” because an “outcome” retrospectively marks a “source” as such (p. 217).

²⁹ Goodwin and Goodwin (2012) draw upon the work by Tomasello (1995) to conceptualize joint attention as a phenomenon that involves multiple parties attending to the same phenomenon and monitoring each other’s attention toward a common referent.

The analysis aims to reveal the participants' practices for "registering noticeables" (Schegloff, 2007, p. 87) and the ways in which they collaboratively co-construct their noticing as a social practice in the multiparty assessment activity. We begin with cases where assessment terms are used as prospective indexicals through which participants clarify their assessments and articulate what they have noticed about the disagreement sequence in their subsequent talk. Then, we turn to cases where assessment terms are mobilized in a retrospective manner in order to enhance the noticeability of the participants' stances and conclude the assessment activity. Lastly, we consider cases in which the participants propose a noticing of their divergent stances toward disagreement

5.4.1. Assessment Terms as Prospective Indexicals

In this section, I show that speakers sometimes use assessment terms as "prospective indexicals" (Goodwin, 1996) to mobilize the recipients' attention and shape their orientation toward the subsequent talk. According to Goodwin (1996), prospective indexicals are linguistic expressions that enable speakers to alert³⁰ recipients of what is to follow and set parameters for appropriate responses, such as laughter at the climax of a funny story. Goodwin further remarks:

The occurrence of a prospective indexical thus invokes a distributed, multi-party process. The cognitive operations relevant to the ongoing constitution of the event in process are by no means confined to speaker alone. Hearers must engage in an active, somewhat problematic process of interpretation in order to uncover the specification of the indexical that will enable them to build appropriate subsequent action at a particular place. (pp. 384-385)

The story preface (Sacks, 1974) serves as a prototypical example of a prospective

³⁰ According to Tomlin and Villa (1994), alertness is related to the learner's readiness to process information, while orientation is related to the specific allocation of attentional resources. In this chapter, I investigate the practices through which these two mechanisms of attention in cognitive science are accomplished interactionally.

indexical in that it foreshadows a particular telling before its actual production. For example, when a speaker says, “the most wonderful thing happened to me today,” she is using a story preface: what constitutes *wonderful* is “not yet available to recipients but is instead something that has to be discovered subsequently as the interaction proceeds” (Goodwin, 1996, p. 384). In other words, the telling is projected from the outset and realized progressively as the telling develops.

This linguistic practice is deployed not only in storytelling, but also in word searches and assessments. Hayashi (2003) describes how the Japanese distal demonstrative pronouns *are* (that one) and *asoko* (that place) work like prospective indexicals during word searches in Japanese conversation. First, the use of a distal demonstrative pronoun in word searches projects a specific future course of action, that is, subsequent specification of its referent. Second, it engages the recipients in a process of discovering the searched-for item. Therefore, the use of a distal demonstrative pronoun shares two important properties with prospective indexicals: (1) the projection of a prospective course of action and (2) motivation for the recipients to engage in the subsequent talk.

In regards to assessments, Mori (1999) notes that when recipients are treated as not yet informed about the evaluated event, an assessment term may work as a “story preface” (Sacks, 1974; Goodwin, 1984), which projects the upcoming telling of an assessment by the initial speaker and provides recipients with resources for co-participation, such as a request to hear further information on the assessment. In what follows, I will argue that an assessment term used at the sequence opening works as a prospective indexical to engage not just unknowing, but also knowing recipients, who have prior knowledge of the evaluated event, in the assessment activity. Assessment terms have a prospective orientation in that they project a forthcoming clarification of the initial assessment term in the subsequent talk.

Through the prospective clarification of the assessment, the speakers make explicit what is noticeable about the disagreement sequence, while the recipients use repair to demonstrate that the speaker's assessment term, which characterizes the pragmatically relevant conduct in the video, was indeed noticed. The noticing of the video speakers' disagreement practice thus emerges as a socially situated practice, grounded in the local interaction between the speakers and the recipients. Excerpt 5.1 is a case in point.

5.1 P2T1 [5:07-5:34]

12 (0.3)

13 Eri: [° () °]

14 Alam: [KEN (0.3)] Ken seems to be quite emotional.

15 (0.7)

16 Alam: yah[:

17 Eri [emo[tional:ɜ]

18 Alam: [emotional]lys uh:: (0.4) he:: hasn't (0.3) <given
19 chance to Hong to explain> (0.3)

20 Eri: hm::[: ((shakes head, nods))

21 Alam: [↑uh:: (0.4) in detail (0.6) however Hong try to
22 explain

23 Eri: yeah::= ((nods))

24 Alam: =in detail about tran (0.3) ssexualisms=

25 Eri: =hm-huh=

26 Hiro: =or he just want (0.7) the other three people to listen
27 to hi(h)m [heh [heh heh heh heh

28 Mei: [yah

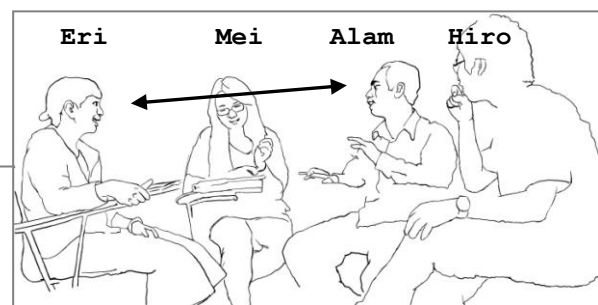
29 Eri: [yah pay [attention to him

30 Alam: [hm

31 (0.3)

32 Alam: yah=

33 Eri: =yah



With his gaze toward Eri, Alam supplies the assessment term *emotional* to describe Ken's way of expressing his disagreement in the video task (line 91). When none of the recipients show any sign of obtaining the next speakership (line 92), Alam resumes speakership in line 93, overlapping Eri's repetition of his assessment, which has a slight rising contour (line 94). Eri's repair shows her attention toward the preceding assessment term, making relevant additional information on the assessment from Alam. In mutual gaze with Eri, Alam appears to repeat his initial assessment, this time as the adverb *emotionallys* (line 95).³¹ Alam then goes on to clarify his evaluative position (lines 95, 96, 98, 99 and 101) and makes salient for his co-participants that Ken's failure in giving Hong time to respond qualifies his disagreement as an *emotional* one. Throughout Alam's clarification of his proffered assessment, he had been holding his left hand at chest level. As soon as his turn in line 101 comes to its syntactic completion, he drops his hand and brings his gaze down to his transcript, visually and verbally marking an end to his speakership.

Another participant, Hiro, who was gazing at Alam, acts upon what he sees by launching into his telling (line 103). His *or*-prefaced utterance (lines 103-104) is produced as an alternative component to and a continuation of Alam's prior clarification, thereby explicitly locating Alam's preceding turn as the source of his contribution. The other two participants, Mei and Eri, display their agreement in the subsequent turns (lines 105-106). At this point, it is clear that the recipients orient to Alam's assessment term as a point of departure for their co-participation in the subsequent course of action.

In this excerpt, Alam's assessment term *emotional* shares critical properties with

³¹ Alam tends to add a redundant "s" at the end of nouns, adverbs, and adjectives in English as demonstrated by his utterance of "emotionallys" in line 95 and "transsexualisms" in line 101.

the linguistic practice of using prospective indexicals. First, it invokes a prospective telling, compelling Alam to clarify his assessment of the disagreement sequence. Second, the recipient, Eri, initiates repair to make evident her focus on the assessment term and her commitment to discovering its relevancy. Third, it prepares the recipients to respond appropriately with vocal and visual actions at a particular moment. Taken together, the assessment term is deployed by the speaker as a prospective indexical that introduces the “noticeable” into the interaction and subsequently unveils what registers as noticeable in the disagreement delivery.

The next excerpt presents a similar case of an assessment term being used as a preface that projects a subsequent elaborated telling. The segment begins right after the participants finished watching the video task, in which two speakers, Joe and Jenny, disagreed with each other.

5.2 P2T4 [4:24-5:08]

- 1 Alam: ALRIGHT, what do you think [about- ((looks at Eri and Mei))
- 2 Mei: [one of them is chewing gu(h)m hhh
- 3 Hiro: [poor-
- 4 heh heh (.) poor Joe hhh hah hah [hah ((looks up))
- 5 Eri: [poor Joe?((looks at Hiro))
- 6 (.)
- 7 Eri: yah[: (looks down))
- 8 Alam: [poor [Joe? ((looks at Hiro))
- 9 Hiro: [>like like< (0.4) [like ((leans forward, looks down))
- 10 Mei: [he's chewing gum= ((looks down))
- 11 Hiro: =it sound like (.) Joe- Joe was excluded from the
- 12 discussion hhh= ((pushes LH out))
- 13 Eri: =[hm::
- 14 Alam: [OH::=
- 15 Hiro: =yah cause she- cause he is talking about another topic.
- 16 (0.6)
- 17 Eri: yah:: (looks down))
- 18 (0.4)

19 Alam: yah ((looks at Eri))
 20 (1.0)
 21 Hiro: and Be::n starts (.) providing her (.) >ah no< his (0.7)
 22 ideas of (1.0) [the limit (1.8)
 23 Eri [yah
 24 Mei: ° age ° = ((looks down))
 25 Eri: = [age ((looks down))
 26 Hiro: [and the discussion (1.4) finally started like
 27 [.hhh heh heh hah hah((looks down))
 28 Eri: [yah ↑actually ↓actually he explain to Jenny just
 29 Jenny [and (0.5) ((looks at Hiro))
 30 Hiro: [yah ((looks down))
 31 Eri: not the group ((looks at Alam))
 32 (0.4)
 33 Eri: so:: (0.6) Chen and (.) Joe is excluded ((looks at Hiro, Alam))
 34 (1.5)
 35 Eri: th(h)e d(h)iscussion.=
 36 Hiro: =heh heh [hah hah hah hhh ((looks down and looks at Eri))
 37 Eri: [uh hhh ((looks at Hiro))

As Hiro finds himself in overlap with Mei's response (line 2), he abandons his assessment with a cut-off (line 3). When Mei completes her utterance with laughter tokens, Hiro begins his turn with laughter and then reproduces his assessment *poor Joe*, followed by another stretch of laughter (line 4). Hiro's laughter-prefaced turn resembles the structure of response types used in managing topic shifts (Jefferson, 1993), as it displays the attention given to the prior speaker's talk while introducing his own topic. Prompted by Hiro's utterance, Eri shifts her gaze from Mei to Hiro and repeats Hiro's assessment with rising intonation *poor Joe?* (line 5). Alam initiates the same repair in line 8 with his gaze toward Hiro. Both Eri and Alam's gazes and repairs demonstrate their noticing of Hiro's assessment and project an elaboration from Hiro on the assessment term *poor* as the relevant next action. Hiro's assessment term, therefore, works as a prospective indexical that builds a link toward his

subsequent extended telling on what he means by *poor Joe*.

In line 9, Hiro leans his upper body forward and brings his gaze down to his transcript while producing the deictic term *like*, which serves as a preface to a descriptive telling. In lines 11 and 12, Hiro launches into his description by pointing out that Joe seemed to be excluded from the group discussion. As Hiro utters the verb *excluded*, he pushes his left hand outwards, showing a semantic coherence with the co-occurring verb phrase. Together, his gesture and talk depict Joe as a *poor* participant who was left out of the group discussion and whose disagreeing response was consequently not attended to.

In lines 13 and 14, Eri and Alam gaze toward Hiro and respond simultaneously to Hiro's elaborated telling. While Eri produces an acknowledgement token with sound stretches *hm::*, Alam utters a change of state token with sound stretches and loud volume *OH::* (Heritage, 1984b), publicly displaying the realization he has undergone as a result of Hiro's description. In line 15, Hiro continues to provide information on his initial assessment of Joe's participation status, placing prosodic emphasis on the first syllable of the adjective *another* to underscore Joe's disagreeing response as markedly different from what the group is discussing. In lines 17 and 19, Eri and Alam produce delayed agreement tokens with their gaze away from Hiro, indexing less than fully agreeing responses. With an *and*-preface, Hiro formulates his turn as a continuation of his prior description (lines 21-22). The placements of the multiple intra-turn pauses indicate that Hiro has trouble in producing the projected noun phrase. His predicament becomes more pronounced as he leaves the turn incomplete with a substantial 1.8-second pause. Mei then breaks the silence and collaboratively completes the telling in progress with the noun *age* (line 24), demonstrating her understanding of what Hiro has said. As soon as the projected noun is proffered, Hiro resumes his telling with another *and*-prefaced turn, invoking a

connection between the current turn and his preceding talk. Additionally, the connection between Hiro's current and previous talk is collaboratively built through Mei's anticipatory completion (Lerner, 1991, 1996, 2004; Lerner & Takagi, 1999).

With her gaze toward Hiro, Eri joins Hiro's telling by saying that Ben only explained the new topic to Jenny, not to the other two group members, Joe and Chen (lines 28, 29, and 31). When Eri's turn is coming to its possible completion, Hiro nods his head and utters the agreement token *yah* in mutual gaze with Eri (line 30). In line 32, Eri uses a *so*-preface to project the possible completion of her turn (Raymond, 2004). Eri's utterances tie back to Hiro's earlier description of Joe as a *poor* participant who had been excluded from the group discussion (lines 11-12). In doing so, Eri assists Hiro, the speaker, in uncovering what *poor* refers to in Joe's disagreement performance, thereby establishing herself as a knowing participant and a co-teller. By embedding laughter tokens in her increment (line 35), Eri proposes her telling to be viewed as a laughable matter. Hiro's immediate laughter (line 36), Eri's subsequent laughter (line 37), and their brief mutual gaze during the overlap all suggest their shared stance on the evaluated topic.

As described above, Hiro's assessment term serves as the starting point for his upcoming clarification and motivates the other two participants, Eri and Alam, to articulate their noticing of the assessment through repair. The assessment term *poor* projects Hiro's elaboration of his stance as the next prospective course of action and mobilizes various forms of the recipients' co-participation in the subsequent talk, including realization display, affiliative display, anticipatory completion, and assisted co-telling (Lerner, 1992). By utilizing the assessment term as a prospective indexical, Hiro presents Joe's participation status during the disagreement sequence as noticeable (i.e., Joe's disagreement is ignored) and further engages the recipients in collaboratively uncovering what Hiro means when he assesses Joe as *poor Joe*. Let us

consider another similar example.

Excerpt 5.3 starts just after the participants finish watching Ken and Helen's disagreement sequence. The segment presents an instance in which an elaborated telling foreshadowed by the deployment of an assessment term results in choral co-production (Lerner, 2002) between the speaker and the recipient.

5.3 P3T1 [2:52-3:30]

8 Will: [>what do you think; < ((looks at Gina))
9 Gina: [I thought is somewhat (1.2) offensive ((looks at Lyn, Will))
10 (1.0)
11 Gina: [for each other ((looks at Will))
12 Will: [offensive; ((looks at Gina))
13 (0.3)
14 Will: [oh:: ((nods))
15 Lyn: [heh
16 (1.2) ((Will nods))
17 Gina: uh the guy being the (1.0) Ken?
18 (0.7)
19 Will: uh= ((looks at Gina))
20 Gina: =Ken said (0.6) just: explicitly NO:
21 (.)
22 Will: [uh ((looks at Gina))
23 Gina: [and he got the (0.8) the most word ((looks at Will and Lyn))
24 (0.3)
25 Will: uh ((looks at Gina))
26 (0.3)
27 Gina: and also woman is suggest (0.7) offensively (1.0) give-
28 gave her (0.6) opinion ((looks at Will and Lyn))
29 (0.9)
30 Will: [uh-huh
31 Gina: [so somewhat (.) offensive and .hhh (0.4) actually
32 there was (.) fou::r
33 Will: uh ((looks at Gina))
34 (0.3)
35 Gina: member: but (0.3) the rest of two (0.8)
36 [>did not have a] chance< to talk =

37 Will: [°didn't talk at all °] ((looks at Gina))
 38 = [heh heh = ((nods))
 39 Lyn: [((nods))
 40 Gina: =participating in the (0.3) discussion
 41 (.)
 42 Will: yah
 43 (2.8)

Without hearing Will's question (line 8), Gina self-selects herself as the next speaker by proffering a negative assessment of Ken and Helen's disagreement sequence (line 9). When Gina proceeds to produce the assessment term *offensive*, she shifts her gaze from Lyn to Will, indexing Will's response as the relevant next action. Gina orients to the subsequent lack of uptake from Will as evidently problematic, for she builds an increment *for each other* to her preceding turn while keeping her gaze toward Will (line 11). In overlap with Gina's increment, Will repeats Gina's assessment term with slight rising intonation *offensive?*, which serves to request information on the assessment from Gina. Similar to the previous excerpts, Gina's assessment term brings to the foreground a noticeable element in the disagreement sequence and invokes a prospective orientation toward an upcoming extended telling by Gina.

Before Gina justifies her noticing, Will responds with the change of state token accompanied by sound stretches *oh::* (line 14) to make visible his revised understanding of Gina's assessment. The realization marker is also accompanied by him gazing at Gina and producing a couple of head nods. Simultaneously, Lyn suddenly engages in laughter (line 15), displaying some sort of realization on her part. When Gina upgrades the recognitional descriptor to the name *Ken?* (line 17), she presents the reference in a try-marking manner (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979), using upward intonation and a subsequent pause to pursue Will's recognition (Hayashi,

2005b; Kim, 2009, 2012; Sacks & Schegloff, 1979). Gina reinforces the relevant recipient action by momentarily bringing her gaze up to Will during the subsequent pause (line 18). On receiving Will's recognition (line 19), Gina continues to provide information on what is *offensive* in Ken's disagreement. She points out that, in the video, Ken explicitly said *no* to his co-participant, Helen. As Gina utters the lengthening negative token *NO*: with enhanced volume, she achieves mutual gaze with Will and pushes her left hand, palm out, frontward. In doing so, Gina vocally and visually amplifies the confrontational force of Ken's direct disagreement. With two *and*-prefaced turns in lines 23 and 27, Gina adds more clarification to her initial assessment. By placing prosodic emphasis on the adverb *also* in line 27, Gina points out that the argumentative tone is present in Ken's as well as Helen's talk. As a result of this extended telling, what Gina treats to be an offensive way of delivering disagreement is sequentially revealed to her recipients.

With a *so*-preface and the repetition of her assessment term *offensive* (line 31), Gina's turn serves to retroactively index the action accomplished by the preceding turns. She then builds an additional unit that spans lines 31-40, saying that even though there were four members in the group, the other two members did not participate in the video discussion. In other words, Ken and Helen's disagreement took away the opportunity for others to participate (as Gina asserts in line 23). The unequal participation reinforces Ken's disagreement as an offensive one.

In line 35, Gina's turn is briefly suspended and a 0.8-second pause develops. The intra-turn silence provides Will an opportunity to complete Gina's turn. Gina and Will's subsequent overlapping and almost identical talk (lines 36-37) indicate that Will has appropriately anticipated what Gina is going to say, enabling him to collaboratively build the talk-in-progress in chorus with Gina. Upon Gina's completion of her turn, Will displays his affiliation with several head nods and

laughter tokens (line 38) while Lyn claims her understanding with head nods (line 39).

When Gina first proffers her assessment, she articulates her noticing but what she means by the assessment term *offensive* is not yet available to the recipients. However, as the recipients orient to the video speakers' conduct as noticeable, Gina engages them in the active process of uncovering the specific event that is indexed by her assessment term. During the projected course of action, what constitutes the disagreement as *offensive* unfolds, providing the recipients with clues as to how they should respond at the appropriate moment.

In the next three excerpts, we will focus on how the recipients deploy the projective resources made available by the proffered assessment term and their noticing of it as a means to understand what the speaker introduces as a noticeable feature in the disagreement sequence. Excerpt 5.4 presents a case in which the recipients synthesize both vocal and visual projective resources provided by the assessment term to collaboratively co-construct its specific meaning in the disagreement sequence being evaluated.³²

5.4 CG1T3 [29:46:30:14]

191 Lily: she had she has her ideas, is like (0.4) not at
192 this::: (0.4)uh::: edge, it's not at this edge,
193 it's [in between=
194 Kim: [((points RIF at Lily))
195 Kim: =RIGHT= ((looks at Lily))
196 Lily: =[it's [even like
197 Fen: [yah:
198 Yoko: [hm hm hm hm hm ((nods))
199 Kim: [the GREY color [heh heh heh ((looks at Lily))
200 Lily: [oh okay [I can agree with you
201 Yoko: hm[::
202 Lily: [uh:: (0.5) with my:: (.) edge, and I can disagree

³² Excerpt 5.4 was examined in Chapter 4 as Excerpt 4.4.

assessment term and the emerging course of action (Hayashi, 2005a; Lerner, 1991, 1996, 2004). With her gaze toward Lily, Kim reinforces the relevance of her response to Lily's preceding turn.

In lines 200, 202, and 203, Lily switches from a descriptive to performative mode by acting out Wen's neutral or *in between* way of doing disagreement. When Lily says *with my:: (.) edge* (line 202), she moves her left hand, palm facing inward, to the side. As she proceeds to utter *another edge* (line 203), she moves her right hand to the opposite side. This gesture has a recognizable similarity to her earlier gesture in line 192. Through such "gestural tying" (Hayashi, 2005a, p. 43), Lily contextualizes her utterance as an elaboration of her initial assessment term. In line 206, Lily begins her turn with a lengthening *so:::* to project a possible last unit of talk (Raymond, 2004). By performing a deictic shift from the first person pronoun *I* to the third person possessive pronoun *her*, Lily moves from animating Wen's disagreement to evaluating Wen's disagreement. Right after Lily produces the deictic *like*, a 0.8-second pause develops. Streeck (1988, 1993, 1994) and Hayashi (2005a) have observed that deictic terms often work as prefaces to an illustrative gesture. Indeed, during the intra-turn silence, Lily brings her hands together without clasping and engages in a downward movement. Lily makes another lowering movement as she produces the speech affiliate *in between*. Again, the gesture bears a recognizable similarity to her gesture for the initial assessment term *in between* in line 193. Lily's pre-positioned gesture provides Fen with a resource and a projection space (Schegloff, 1984) to anticipate its verbal affiliate as demonstrated when Fen utters in chorus with Lily *not too extreme* (line 207). Precisely as Fen says *extreme*, she achieves mutual gaze with Lily and has her hands out with her palms facing downwards, which is gesturally opposite from Lily's hand movement in line 206. Even though Fen and Lily's utterances and gestures during their choral co-production are not identical, they are vocally and

visually complementary and mutually elaborating.

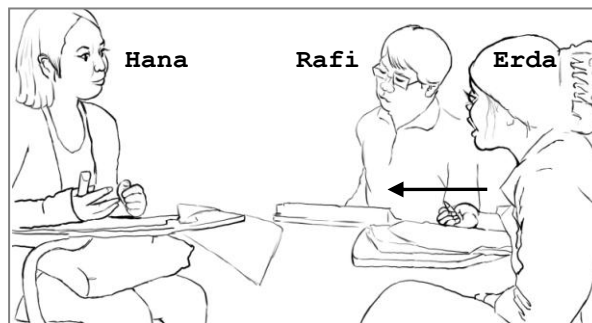
In response, Lily accepts Fen's turn completion with the lengthening agreement token *yah::* (line 208). While Lily proceeds to repeat Fen's vocal production *not too extreme*, Fen repeats Lily's earlier embodied enactment of *in between*, by aligning her opened hands and placing them at eye level (line 211). Fen and Lily's respective vocal and gestural tying to other's conduct indicates not simply their understanding of the corresponding vocal and nonvocal actions in their two assessment terms (*in between* and *not too extreme*), but also their affiliation with each other. When Lily's turn comes to its possible completion in line 208, Fen affiliates with *yah* and then reformulates the prior assessment *not too extreme* as *kinda balance* (line 211). In association with her talk, Fen brings her hands at her eye level and makes three slightly asymmetrical upward and downward movements. The way she moves her hands highlights the importance of being able to consider different opinions equally without displaying a preference for either side when carrying out neutral or *in between* disagreement.

The foregoing analysis illustrates the vocal as well as visual prospective orientation of the assessment term. The recipients, Fen, Yoko, and Kim, utilize the assessment term's projective resources to socially coordinate their vocal and visual conduct, mark what they have noticed in Lily's prior talk, and precisely time their entry into the emerging clarification of the initial assessment term. Excerpt 5.5 presents another case where the projection provided by the assessment term is utilized by the recipient to collaboratively build turn completion and assist the speaker in clarifying her pragmatic noticing.

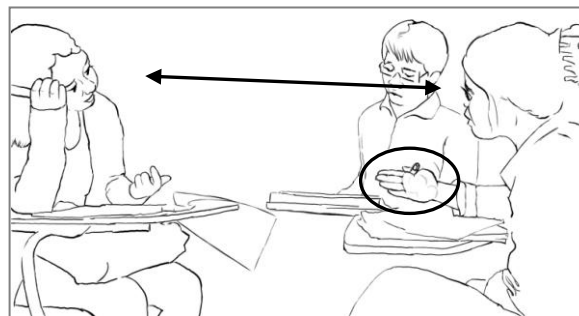
5.5 CG3T1 [5:18-6:08]

66 Hana: um:: (0.4) Helen and Ken has different each ideas
67 [so::
68 Erda: [>yah yah< ((looks at Hana, nods))

69 (0.6)
 70 Hana: and (0.4) whe::n (0.3) when (0.5) KEN says (1.5) uh
 71 his opinion, (0.3) Helen says no[::
 72 Erda: [((nods))
 73 (0.5) ((Erda nods))
 74 Erda: yah[:: ((looks at Hana, nods))
 75 Hana: [Helen (.) when Helen says (0.3) hi- her opinion, Ken
 76 says no but (0.3) I think it is (0.3) um:: (0.6) it's
 77 kind of (0.4) ru::de [cause (0.5) after (0.9) they (.)
 78 Erda: [((leans forward, widens her eyes))



79 Hana: shou::ld (0.3) say their opinion after uh:: (0.4)
 80 finishing (0.3) saying something and (1.1) before
 81 (1.1) the person (.) I mean (0.8) <I mean> (0.6)
 82 Erda: no need to interrupt? = ((looks at Hana, moves RH forward))



83 Hana: =>yah yah ↑interrupt< ((looks at Erda, moves LH forward))
 84 (0.4)
 85 Erda: to- to- (.) interrupt while I:: um::=
 86 Hana: =>yah yah< =((looks at Erda, nods))
 87 Erda: =while someone is saying something [and then (0.6)
 88 Hana: [hm:: ((nods))
 89 Erda: someone say =
 90 Hana: =>yah [yah< ((looks at Erda))
 91 Erda: [interrupt immediately¿= ((looks at Hana))
 92 Hana: =yah:: ((looks at Erda))

93 Erda: so it's kinda (.) ru:de, [you think ((looks at Hana))
 94 Hana: [↑yah:: ((nods))
 95 (0.3)
 96 Erda: oh:: ((looks at Hana))
 97 (0.8)

In lines 66, 67, 70, 71, 75, and 76, Hana describes how, in the video task, Ken and Helen use *no* to directly disagree with each other. During the subsequent turns, Erda displays her agreement with Hana's description both vocally and visually (i.e., gaze, agreement tokens, and head nods). Hana's use of the epistemic stance marker *I think* in line 76 projects her upcoming evaluation onto her prior description of Ken and Helen. The following pauses, hesitation markers, and restarts in lines 80 and 81 are accompanied by Hana's gaze withdrawal from the addressed recipient, Erda, indicating Hana's active engagement in a solitary word search (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986). When Hana finally vocalizes the searched-for assessment term with sound stretches and prosodic emphasis *ru::de*, she returns her gaze to Erda, resulting in a state of mutual gaze. It is precisely at this moment that Erda, eyes widening and mouth agape, leans her upper body toward Hana. Even though it is difficult to see Erda's movements in the line drawing provided, the examination of the video recording clearly shows Erda's shift in embodied action (i.e., postural change, eye widening, and mouth opening) upon hearing Hana's assessment term *ru::de*. Note that Erda's change in bodily conduct corresponds to Hana's shift of footing from author to principal (Goffman, 1981), that is, from describing to evaluating the disagreement sequence. Erda's embodied action serves as a visual repair initiation, making visible her orientation to Hana's assessment term as noticeable and in need of clarification.

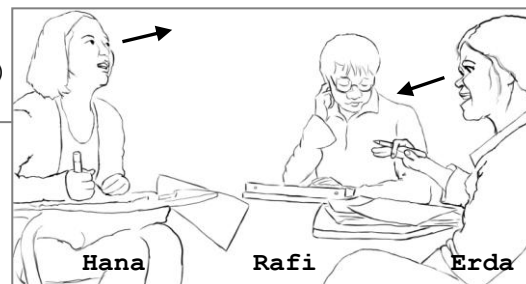
As Hana proceeds to elaborate on what constitutes Ken and Helen's disagreement as *rude*, Erda continues to gaze at Hana, displaying her full engagement in Hana's unfolding talk. Hana's stretch of talk (lines 77-81) is marked with speech

perturbations (i.e., intra-turn pauses, false starts, hesitation markers, and sound stretches), showing the trouble she has in completing her turn. During the 1.1-second pause (line 81), Hana gazes away from Erda, the addressed recipient. As Hana utters the epistemic marker *I mean*, she tilts her head to the side so it rests in her right palm. She maintains this body posture and gaze aversion when she pauses and slowly restates the epistemic marker *I mean*, followed by another 0.6-second pause. At this point, it is recognizable from Hana's visual and vocal conduct that she is pursuing a solution to her problematic turn completion.

Erda, who had been gazing at Hana and attending closely to Hana's unfolding vocal and visual conduct, makes an entry into the talk-in-progress by delivering a candidate turn constructional unit with a question intonation *no need to interrupt?* (line 82). In conjunction with her utterance, Erda moves her right hand forward with the palm facing upwards, which gesturally frames the co-occurring talk as a suggestion or an offer to the recipient (Kendon, 2004). Upon hearing Erda's collaborative turn completion, Hana reaches her left hand slightly forward in the direction of Erda and achieves mutual gaze with her while quickly uttering two agreement tokens and repeating the word ↑*interrupt* with high pitch and prosodic emphasis (line 83). Hana's coordination of gesture, gaze, and talk thus makes explicit her acceptance of Erda's turn completion.

Following Hana's affiliative display, in lines 85, 87, 89, and 91, Erda establishes herself as a co-teller by rephrasing Hana's prior telling. In lines 86, 88, 90, and 92, as she maintains mutual gaze with Erda, Hana initiates an early delivery of agreement. Such early delivery requires that the response be given immediately upon completion of the prior turn or before the prior turn's completion. In line 93, Erda uses a *so*-preface and repeats Hana's initial assessment term to make a connection between her prior telling and the assessment term. Specifically, she states that interrupting

161 (0.3)
 162 Erda: maybe (0.3) so:=((looks away))
 163 Hana: =like= ((looks away))
 164 Erda: =excuse me::, ((looks away))
 165 (.)
 166 Erda: or= ((looks at Hana))
 167 Hana: =>excuse me< I don' think so,= ((looks at Erda))
 168 Erda: =uh I don't [think so: ((looks at Hana))
 169 Hana: [or in ↑my opinion, [I think-
 170 Erda: [to be softer=
 171 Hana: =yah yah = ((looks at Erda and nods))
 172 Erda: =to: (0.3) use [or (0.3) [do something ((looks at Hana))
 173 Hana: [to be softer [and more politely.=
 174 Erda: =oh I see yah:: ((looks at Hana and looks down))
 175 (5.7)



Following the noticeable silence in line 155, Erda initiates a new topic, which actually follows up on Hana's earlier negative assessment as discussed in Excerpt 5.5. With her gaze down, Erda points the pen in her right hand in Hana's direction and utters the possessive pronoun *your* (line 156). In doing so, Erda vocally and visually selects Hana as the primary recipient of her emerging utterance. Hana responds by leaning her upper body forward right after Erda says *in your opinion*, visibly displaying her relevant reciprocity. Then, after Erda articulates the assessment term *better*, Hana and Erda obtain mutual gaze. As Erda produces the negative token *NO::* with sound stretches and loud volume, she lifts her right forearm and makes a rapid downward movement, which serves to emphasize the unmitigated delivery in Ken and Helen's disagreement. Remember, in Excerpt 5.5, it was observed that Hana evaluates Ken and Helen's disagreement as *rude*. Erda orients to Hana's previously produced negative assessment and proposes, from Hana's perspective, a *better* way of doing disagreement. Erda's orientation shows that even after another stretch of talk, she continues to engage in the active process of uncovering what the initial assessment

term, *rude*, makes relevant.

In mutual gaze with Erda, Hana immediately responds with several agreement tokens, accompanied by a series of head nods (line 158). In line 162, Erda directs her gaze away from Hana to search for an alternative disagreeing response to *no*. Interestingly, Hana also engages in a solitary word search as she withdraws her gaze from Erda while delivering the deictic term *like* (line 163) to project an upcoming candidate linguistic expression for disagreement. Previous research on word searches have observed that a speaker's gaze aversion is used to contextualize an ongoing word search as a solitary action and active co-participation from the addressee as neither solicited nor relevant (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986; Hayashi, 2003). What makes the sequence in this excerpt different from previous observations is that Erda and Hana, the speaker and the recipient, gaze away from each other and simultaneously conduct their respective word search activities. Their gaze directions, in fact, enhance rather than discount their mutual orientation to the search-in-progress.

As soon as Erda produces a candidate linguistic expression with sound stretches *excuse me::* (line 164), she returns her gaze to Hana and uses a connective *or* to invite Hana's co-participation (line 166). On achieving mutual gaze with Erda, Hana repeats Erda's preceding utterance and proceeds to offer an alternative expression *I don't think so* (line 167). After Erda's repetition (line 168), Hana uses another *or*-preface to supply two more epistemic markers for delivering disagreeing responses. In overlap with Hana's talk, Erda formulates Hana's preceding disagreement expressions as *softer* (line 170), which receives immediate agreement from Hana (line 171). In line 173, Hana repeats the assessment term and adds another comparative form *more politely* to highlight the contrast between their disagreement and the blunt disagreement performed by Ken and Helen. While Erda and Hana describe their disagreement expressions as *better*, *softer*, and *more politely*, Hana characterizes Ken

and Helen's disagreement as *rude*. The comparison furnishes Erda with a new understanding of Hana's assessment, as Erda initiates her response with the news receipt *oh*, followed by a claim of understanding *I see yah::*.

In this word search sequence, gaps between turns are minimized and there is a slight overlap between Hana and Erda's turns. Their instantaneous responses to what the other had just said, along with their gaze orientations, demonstrate their mutual orientation toward a collaborative search for a better way to disagree. Each of their contributions mutually occasions and elaborates the other's talk. Such a collaborative search is only made possible after Hana and Erda have already established a shared understanding of what a *rude* disagreement refers to (as examined in Excerpt 5.5). Thus, Hana's deployment of the assessment term *rude* not only projects a prospective clarification of what was *rude* in the proffered disagreement delivery sequence, but also invites Erda's to pursue an alternative disagreeing response that is *better* and *softer*.

In the preceding six excerpts, we have described the use of an assessment term at a sequence's opening as a prospective indexical, which introduces the noticeable features of disagreement into interaction and projects a subsequent clarification by the initial speaker to justify the noticing. The meaning of the assessment term, which is not yet available to the recipients at its occurrence, is revealed sequentially and collaboratively as the speaker and the recipients use both vocal and visual actions to make explicit what they orient to as noticeable in the disagreement sequence being evaluated. While the speakers articulate their noticing through the use of an assessment term, the recipients index their noticing of the assessment term and engage in the dynamic process of discovering what the speaker has noticed and invited their attention to. The recipients' noticing practices include repair initiation, change in body behavior, realization display, affiliative display, choral co-production, gestural tying,

anticipatory completion, and assisted co-telling. In other words, the projective resources made available by the assessment term are mobilized by the recipients to jointly discover what characterizes a disagreeing response as *emotional*, *poor*, *offensive*, *in between*, and *rude*, and to further search for disagreeing responses that are *softer* and *better*. The noticing practices that the speakers and the recipients manifest in these excerpts are thus interactionally organized and generated.

5.4.2. Repeated Assessment Terms as Retrospective Indexicals

Rather than projecting a future course of action as a prospective indexical, a recycled assessment term serves to mobilize recipients' attention on the speaker's stance and project topic closure. In this section, we will examine how the speakers repeat an initial assessment term at sequence closing to retrospectively index the evaluative stance that has already been revealed in the preceding turns, but has not been taken as relevant by recipients. Most importantly, the repetition provides an additional opportunity for the recipients to offer a response and display their noticing of the pragmatically relevant conduct in the video. Consider Excerpt 5.7 in this respect.

5.7 P3T1 [4:43-5:23]

83 Lyn: a:nd third question is this something you will use
 84 when you disagree? ((looks down))
 85 (2.8)
 86 Lyn: uh heh heh ((looks down))
 87 (0.3)
 88 Gina: I think I might do (.) little bit differently
 89 (0.3)
 90 Will: uh[: ((looks at Gina))
 91 Gina: [for me it was kinda (0.4) little bit (0.5) offensive,
 92 the way:: he= ((looks at Will))
 93 Will: =uh ((looks at Gina))
 94 (.)

95 Gina: she just gave his (.) opinions [so (0.7) ((looks at Will, down))
 96 Will: [yah ((looks at Gina))
 97 Gina: I will (.) use the term maybe (0.5) or (0.5) hm::: (.)
 98 maybe I- I don't (0.7) I don't disagree with you:, I
 99 don't agree with you::=((shakes head, looks at Will and Lyn))
 100 Will: =uh ((looks at Gina))
 101 Gina: or (0.8) I don't think so::: or (.) [in my opinion,
 102 Will: [hm ((looks down))
 103 Gina: I have a different (0.4) ↑thoughts ((looks at Will))
 104 Will: yah= ((looks at Gina))
 105 Gina: =maybe I might use (0.4) different word((looks at Lyn, Will))
 106 (0.6) ((Will nods))
 107 Lyn: YAH instead of hm (.) [NO::: hhh heh heh = ((looks down))
 108 Gina: [NO::: hhh ((looks at Gina))
 109 Will: =hm ((smiles))
 110 (1.6) ((all members look down))

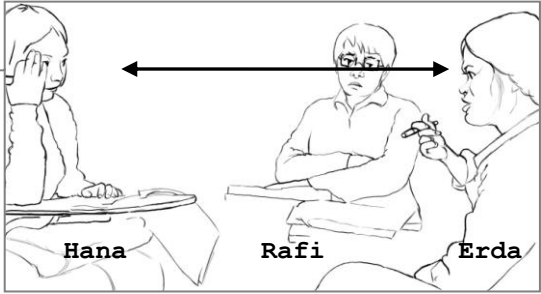
With her gaze down at the transcript, Lyn initiates a new discussion question (lines 83-84). After some pauses, Gina launches her response by saying that her approach to disagreement might be slightly different from Ken and Helen's methods (line 88). Gina proceeds to justify her stance by formulating Ken and Helen's disagreement as *little bit offensive* (line 91). After asserting that she would use the term *maybe* as a way to mitigate disagreement (line 97), Gina uses the first person pronoun *I* to present her possible disagreeing responses from the perspective of someone engaging in disagreement (lines 98-103). However, in recycling her initial assessment term *different* in line 105, Gina shifts back to an evaluative perspective. Gina's shift of footing (Goffman, 1981) retrospectively frames her preceding utterances as an enactment in which she shows, rather than simply describes, her different ways of disagreeing. Gina's post-positioned assessment thus serves to draw the recipients' attention to her preceding enactment.

In mutual gaze with Gina, Will claims his understanding by producing several

head nods during the pause in line 106. Lyn, who had not provided any verbal or visual response so far, displays her affiliation by uttering with loud volume, the agreement token *YAH*, accompanied by several head nods (line 107). Given her affiliation with Gina, Lyn's subsequent adverb phrase *instead of* strongly projects the next noun phrase as dissimilar to Gina's preceding disagreeing responses. The following hesitation marker and micro-pause provide the recipients with an opportunity to complete the projected noun phrase. Indeed, in line 108, Gina demonstrates her precise understanding of Lyn's utterance-in-progress by co-producing the projected component in chorus with Lyn (Lerner, 2002). Both of their negative tokens *NO:::* are delivered in the same affectively loaded manner (i.e., with sound stretches and loud volume), animating Ken and Helen's direct disagreement. By virtue of their identical and simultaneous production of the negative token, Lyn and Gina make visible their congruent understanding of Gina's pragmatic performance as markedly different from Ken and Helen's. This understanding is also shared by Will, as he smiles along with Lyn and Gina's laughter (line 109). In this segment, Gina's recycled assessment term marks a return to her initial principal role and, as a result, facilitates the recipients to notice what Gina has already revealed about the pragmatic object being evaluated. As the excerpt illustrates, the assessment term contributes to the construction of a shared experience and collective engagement between three separate parties.

Excerpt 5.8 illustrates a case in which the speaker repeats the assessment term to indicate some perceived trouble with reciprocity and to pursue a gazing recipient. Before the segment, Hana described Helen's use of *no* as a way to resist others' opinions. In the following interaction, another participant, Erda, initiates a response to Hana's description.

5.8 CG3T2 [16:30-16:55]

95 Erda: even though she she has uh: her strong opinion in (0.3)
 96 uh transsexual[lism (0.4) ((looks down, points pen at TS))
 97 Hana: [hm
 98 Erda: I think it's better (0.4) to:: listen to= ((pushes RH out))
 99 Hana: =hm:= ((looks at Erda, nods))
 100 Erda: =to other first and when they finish, (.) then give her
 101 opinion ((pushes RH out, looks at Hana, Hana looks down))
 102 (0.4)
 103 Erda: instead you're saying no no [no in (0.4) ((looks at Hana))
 104 Hana: [hm ((looks down))
 105 Erda: their (.) in the con- (.) in discussion ((looks at Hana))
 106 (0.9) ((Erda looks at Hana))
 107 Erda: yah:: it it it [sounds better, I [think.
 108 Hana: [((looks up, nods)) [hm ((nods, looks down))
 109 (0.6)

 110 Erda: ye:s. ((looks down))
 111 (2.7) ((all members look down))

After describing Helen's opinion as *strong* (lines 95-96), Erda adds that it would be better for Helen to listen to others' opinions before she presents her contrasting perspective (lines 98-101). Although Erda directs her gaze to Hana while uttering the verb *finish* in line 100, their mutual gaze is momentary. In line 101, Hana breaks their mutual gaze by averting her gaze toward her transcript. Erda, however, continues to gaze at Hana when she refers to Hana's earlier telling regarding Helen's use of *no* (lines 103 and 105). When Erda utters the negative token no three times, she places great emphasis on the syllable and makes three rapid forward movements with her right hand to vocally and visually demonstrate the force and directness in Helen's disagreement. In doing so, Erda affiliates with Hana's proffered assessment, while

reinforcing her stance that when performing disagreement it is better to listen to others' opinions before rejecting them.

From lines 101 to 106, Erda finds herself in a position of talking, gazing, and gesturing to someone who is no longer visibly attending her. In line 107, Erda remains gazing at Hana as she restates her initial assessment *it sounds better* to pursue Hana's visible display of co-participation. The restarts of the subject *it* at the beginning of the turn appear to secure Hana's gaze, and Hana follows the establishment of her and Erda's mutual gaze with a string of head nods. When Erda uses the post-positioned *I think* with falling intonation to signal her turn completion, Hana withdraws her gaze with co-occurring head nods to show diminished but continued involvement in the talk-in-progress and her orientation to the repeated assessment term as a move toward topic closure (line 108). Here we can see that Erda repeats the assessment term and uses her gaze to prompt Hana's vocal and visual noticing of what she has proposed to be a better way of engaging in disagreement, which has not been properly attended to by Hana up to this point.³³

In the following three excerpts, we will examine how a speaker repeats the assessment term with a *so*-preface to register the recipients' lack of uptake on what the speaker has said in the prior telling. A *so*-prefaced repeat serves to enhance the noticeability of the speaker's stance and solicit noticing from the not-so-attentive recipients. Excerpt 5.9 illustrates this phenomenon. The segment begins as Erda invites another participant, Rafi, to present his opinion on Ken and Helen's disagreement delivery.

5.9 CG3T1 [4:31-5:04]

33 (0.5) ((Erda looks at Rafi))

³³ Erda's gaze direction resembles how a speaker uses gaze to pursue agreement from recipients, as discussed in Chapter 4.

34 Erda: so what do you think ((looks at Rafi, moves RH toward him))
 35 (2.0)
 36 Rafi: yah it's kinda normal because people (1.1) I mean
 37 everyone just has a different point of view and (.)
 38 like Helen, (0.6) (he has his view), her point of view
 39 and Ken also has his point of view, ((looks down and front))
 40 (0.7)
 41 Rafi: and they said like (.) one side of (1.2) okay this is
 42 the way we:: we educate our children, ((looks front))
 43 (0.5)
 44 Rafi: but another () has kind of different way: ((looks front))
 45 (0.3)
 46 Rafi: so: [(1.2) I mean, >yah it's kinda normal in this
 47 Hana: [((looks at Rafi, nods))
 48 Rafi: [kinda discussion.<=
 49 Erda: [yah yah
 50 =I [agree ((looks at Rafi))
 51 Rafi: [people may (0.3) have (0.6) different idea=
 52 Erda: = ° I agree ° ((looks at Rafi))
 53 (0.6)
 54 Rafi: uh::: to say †something ((looks front))
 55 (0.5)

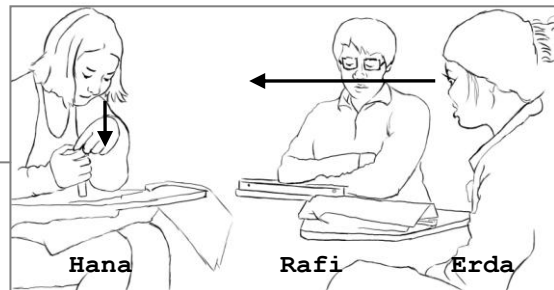
In line 33, Erda directs her gaze at Rafi and moves her right hand toward him as she launches into her question in line 34. Through her gestures, Erda indicates that Rafi is the relevant next speaker. Following a 2-second pause, Rafi proffers the assessment term *normal* to describe Ken and Helen's disagreement (line 36). As Rafi proceeds to provide an account for his assessment, he employs the extreme case formulation *everyone* (Pomerantz, 1986) (line 37) to describe Ken and Helen's explicit way of disagreeing as a usual occurrence in group discussion. Continuing with his discussion on Ken and Helen (lines 38 to 44), Rafi describes their points of view as simply different. In line 46, Rafi begins his turn with a lengthening *so*-preface and suspends it, thus allowing a substantial pause to emerge. Rafi's stand-alone *so*

projects the possible completion of his turn and creates a space for the recipients to display their noticing of his proffered assessment. During the 1.2-second pause, Hana's gaze moves from her transcript to Rafi for the first time in this segment, resulting in a state of mutual gaze (line 47). It is during this gaze state that Hana nods her head several times to claim her understanding and noticing of Rafi's preceding description. Rafi goes on to produce the upshot projected by the *so*, which is a quick repeat of his initial assessment *>yah it's kinda normal in this kinda discussion<*. The shift from description to assessment retrospectively formulates Rafi's prior talk as a discovery of what constitutes *normal* in Ken and Helen's disagreement. This shift, in other words, emphasizes Rafi's stance as already in play and in need of recognition. After Erda displays immediate agreement (lines 49-50), Rafi's turn in line 51 reformulates what he has said in lines 36 and 37 and reinforces what is already displayed to the recipients. When Rafi's turn comes to its full completion, Erda gazes at Rafi and immediately initiates her agreeing response in a soft voice *°I agree°* (line 52). Therefore, Rafi's *so*-prefaced repeat serves to provide an interactional space for the recipients to participate in and display their noticing of Rafi's prior stance display (i.e., strong disagreement is normal in group discussion). Notably, this is a space that the recipients would not have if Rafi had not given a hearable projection of completion with the *so*-prefaced turn.

Although a speaker may use *so*-prefaced assessment terms as a distinctive practice to pursue a recipient's acknowledgement, a recipient can refuse to have her attention drawn to a speaker's stance display. The following segment showcases this use of *so*-prefaced assessment terms. Before Excerpt 5.10 began, Rafi asked Erda if she would disagree in the same way as Ken and Helen. Erda gave a negative response, saying that she would not do the same thing. The segment starts as Erda proceeds to clarify her answer.

5.10 CG3T2 [17:22-17:44]

- 131 (0.6)
- 132 Erda: I think to contro::l (.) our (0.5) f::: feeling, our
- 133 emotion in discussion (0.3) ((looks at Rafi))
- 134 Rafi: [()]
- 135 Erda: [is (0.4) I think it's very important.= ((looks at Rafi))
- 136 Rafi: =yah::= ((looks down, nods))
- 137 Erda: =because (.) we talk with other people, (0.3) and we
- 138 give our opinions ((looks at Hana, Hana looks down))
- 139 (0.4) ((Erda looks at Rafi))
- 140 Erda: we have to respect other opinions [too. ((looks at Rafi))
- 141 Rafi: [ye:s ((looks down, nods))
- 142 (0.4)
- 143 Erda: yes:: ((looks down))
- 144 (1.3)
- 145 Erda: so it's very important. ((looks at Hana, Hana looks down))
- 146 (1.5) ((Hana nods slightly. all members look down))



In lines 132, 133, and 135, Erda states that during disagreement delivery it is very important to control one's feelings and emotions. Her assessment makes salient the pragmatically appropriate conduct for disagreement, which is noticeably absent in the video speakers' actions. Upon hearing the assessment term *important*, Rafi utters an agreement token with sound stretches, accompanied by some slight head nods. As soon as Erda hears and sees Rafi's display of affiliation, she shifts her gaze to Hana while beginning her turn (line 137). Erda starts her turn by using the connective *because* to introduce the reason upon which she bases her assessment. By utilizing the first-person plural *we* and *our* (lines 132, 137, 138, and 140), Erda positions the recipients inclusively and presupposes their affiliation with her assertion. However, with her gaze down, Hana neither acts as a visibly available recipient, nor does she produce any verbal response. Given the noticeable lack of uptake from Hana, Erda

returns her gaze to Rafi during the pause in line 139. While Rafi demonstrates affiliation with Erda's talk (line 141), Hana has yet to provide any uptake. Then, in lines 142 to 144, all three participants disengage from the talk-in-progress as they bring their gazes down, making a response from Hana even less likely to occur. In line 145, Erda makes another attempt to obtain Hana's recognition of her stance display by using a *so*-preface to re-signal completion of the sequence while redirecting her gaze to Hana. Erda then gives the upshot of her prior talk, that is, a repeat of her initial assessment *it's very important*. Regardless of Erda's vocal and visual attempts to have her assessment noticed by Hana, Hana's gaze remains averted, indicating her refusal to co-participate and display her noticing in the way that Erda proposes to be relevant. As a result, all three participants again make a departure from the talk and shift their gazes away from each other during the subsequent pause in line 146.

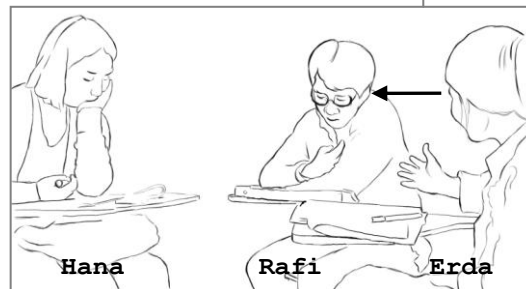
The foregoing analysis shows that Erda directs her gaze and recycles her initial assessment to provide a space for Hana to display her noticing. Thus, Erda brings to Hana's attention that the meaning of the assessment term *important* is already available in the preceding turns and thereby ready for her recognition. However, in this excerpt, we saw a case where such recognition is not necessarily claimed. Let us take a look at one more example, one in which the speaker deploys a *so*-prefaced upshot along with a pointing gesture to enhance the noticeability of her stance display.

Earlier in the group discussion, Erda argued that, in the video task, Brad and Amy were not disagreeing. In this segment, she justifies her previous argument by identifying the similarities rather than differences in Brad and Amy's utterances.

5.11 CG3T4 [13:13-13:37]

106 (4.4) ((all members look down))
 107 Erda: ↑yah (.) um:: (1.1) obviously we can see that Brad and
 108 Amy say something similarly= ((looks down, points RIF at TS))

109 Hana: =°hm°= ((looks down, nods slightly))
 110 Erda: =uh they say that (0.3) >it is effective< ((looks down at TS))
 111 (1.0)
 112 Erda: it is (.) AN effective way, ((looks down at TS))
 113 (0.6)
 114 Erda: and then give (1.2) s::ome idea to support ((looks at Hana
 115 and Rafi))



116 (0.6)
 117 Erda: [>so I say the< ↑similarly. ((places RIF at TS))
 118 Rafi: ((looks down, nods slightly))
 119 (0.5) ((Hana looks at Erda's TS))
 120 Erda: [yah:: ((looks down at TS))
 121 Rafi: [yah ((looks down at TS))
 122 (2.4) ((all members look down))



After a substantial 4.4-second pause, Erda initiates a new topic by saying that Brad and Amy delivered their opinions in a similar way (lines 107-108). When Erda utters the names *Brad and Amy*, she uses a pointing gesture to locate Brad and Amy's respective turns on her transcript. Moreover, by prefacing her description with the modal *can* and the verb *see* in line 107, Erda specifically calls her recipients' attention to what she is pointing at. With her gaze down, Hana nods slightly and gives a soft-spoken minimal response to Erda's assessment (line 109). From lines 110 to 114, Erda provides a description of what Brad and Amy actually said to emphasize the similarity in their utterances, including their use of words and the structure of their talk. In line 114, Erda shifts her gaze from her transcript to Hana as she says *idea* and immediately moves her gaze to Rafi when she utters the next item *to*. Yet both recipients do not return Erda's gaze. During the subsequent 0.6-second silence (line

115), Erda keeps her gaze toward Rafi while Rafi continues to look away. When Erda returns her gaze to her transcript (line 117), Rafi initiates a couple of slight head nods to claim his understanding of Erda's description (line 118). Rafi's head nods, though, are no longer in Erda's line of sight; therefore, up to this point, Erda has not seen or heard any explicit affiliation from her recipients.

After failing to secure a gazing recipient, in line 116, Erda uses a *so*-preface to retrospectively contextualize what her preceding turns have accomplished. As Erda articulates the upshot with terminal intonation, she positions her right index finger at the specific places Brad and Amy's turns are located on the transcript. Erda's verbal and gestural actions tie her present comments to her initial assessment term *similarly*, delivered in line 108, indicating her shift from description back to assessment. By placing, rather than simply pointing her index finger (as in lines 107-108), at the transcript, Erda treats the recipients' close attention to Brad and Amy's turns as crucial to understanding her assessment. Indeed, during the subsequent pause, Hana brings her gaze to where Erda's finger is located on the transcript, thereby visibly orienting to what Erda is doing. Even though Hana does not give any verbal response, her gaze shift registers her noticing of Erda's request for reciprocity. In overlap with Erda, Rafi claims his understanding with *yah* in line 121. The sequence comes to its closure in line 122 as all three of them gaze down. In this excerpt, we see that Erda provided yet another stance display to contextualize what she said, elicit noticing from the recipients, and project a sequence closure.

In this section, we have observed how speakers repeat the initial assessment term to enhance the noticeability of their stance displays toward disagreement. In other words, a repeated stance display takes place recurrently when there is a problem with reciprocity. The sequence below illustrates the general organization of using initial assessment terms in this manner:

- 1 Speaker proffers an assessment term on the disagreement
- 2 Recipient gives minimal or no response to the assessment
- 3 Speaker describes or enacts the disagreement
- 4 Recipient gives minimal or no response to the prior description or enactment
- 5 Speaker repeats the initial assessment term (preceded by the upshot formulation *so* and accompanied by gaze direction toward the recipient)

Close examination of the previous excerpts shows that the speakers repeat an assessment term to accomplish the following interactional work: (1) give the upshot, (2) reinforce the prior telling as noticeable, (3) provide an additional place for the recipients to register their noticing, (4) indicate a frame shift (i.e., from description or enactment to assessment), and (5) mark the closure of the sequence. The assessment term is often preceded by a *so*-preface to index the connection between the current assessment and the previous turns, and highlight the action accomplished by the previous turns. How a speaker enhances the noticeability of his or her stance and solicits attention from the recipients underscores noticing as a socially shared activity. When a speaker's assessment receives no uptake and goes unnoticed, he or she will engage in reparative work to secure the recipients' attention. Note that noticeability is enhanced not only by vocal conduct (i.e., the repeated assessment term), but also by visual practice (i.e., a speaker's gaze toward the primary recipient or a speaker's use of a pointing gesture to create a shared visual focus). In doing so, the participant's noticings "manifestly come to the interactional surface" (Drew, 2005, p. 170), independent of their mental states at the time.

So far, we have examined how a speaker's stance toward disagreement is revealed prospectively and indexed retroactively through the use of assessment terms. In all of the cases, the speaker's experience of the pragmatic object, disagreement, is built into the interaction and co-constructed with the recipients. The public character

of the speaker's assessment enables the recipients to co-participate in the speaker's assessment through relevant forms of participation, such as displays of affiliation, engagement, and acknowledgement.

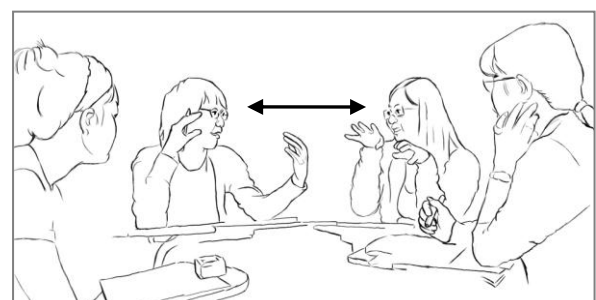
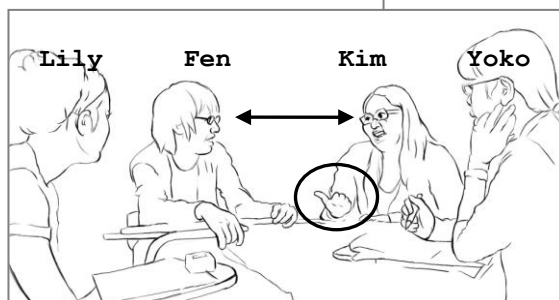
Additionally, in light of its recognizability in interaction, a speaker's stance display can, at the same time, be challenged and negotiated. In the next section, we will turn to cases where the participants encounter the pragmatic assessments of others, notice the gap between their stances, coordinate different perspectives, and eventually make the necessary adjustments to their initial stance.

5.4.3. *Noticing the Gap between Assessments*

In the first excerpt, we will consider a case where the prior speaker's assessment on disagreement is challenged. Before the proffered interaction, Kim, after watching the video task, expressed her negative feelings toward Helen's disagreement with Tim. The segment begins with Fen introducing her perspective on the disagreement by referring to how disagreement is actually carried out in American television shows.

5.12 CG1T2 [14:23-15:01]

50 (1.9)
 51 Fen: but actually you know, when you watch, you know some
 52 tee vee program on (0.6) yah a- america tee vee program,
 53 there are a lot of these kind of thing=
 54 Yoko: =oh[: ((looks at Fen))
 55 Kim: [↑oh [RIGHT in the [discus[sion, ARGUE each other =



56 ((points RT)) ((circles BHs))
 57 Fen: ((circles BHs))

58 Fen: =↑yah against and then (.) ((looks at Kim))
 59 Yoko: [oh::::
 60 Fen: just [disrupt each other [and [shouting [each other
 61 ((circles BHs)) ((circles BHs))
 62 Yoko: [oh:::
 63 Kim: [heh heh
 64 heh .hhh=
 65 Fen: =ya(h) [h::ç
 66 Kim: [kind of the reality shows yahç ((looks at Fen))
 67 (0.3)
 68 Fen: ya(h)h::=
 69 Kim: =heh heh [heh
 70 Fen: [so I think maybe:: (0.3) it's kinda
 71 \$↑similar\$ thing=
 72 Yoko: =[hm::::] ((looks at Fen, nods))
 73 Kim: [hm::::] right? ((nods, looks down))
 74 (0.8)
 75 Fen: ° yah:: so °
 76 (1.6)
 77 Fen: maybe this kind of behavior is acceptable in some place,
 78 I don't know. ((looks at Kim))
 79 Kim: oh:::
 80 Yoko: ° hm:: °
 81 Kim: ° okay:: ° ((nods slightly, looks down))
 82 (3.4)

Following a sizable 1.9-second pause, Fen has her gaze down and uses the contrastive connective *but* to suggest a shift in her perspective (line 51).³⁴ Fen shifts her gaze to Kim when she first uses the discourse marker *you know* in line 51 to invite Kim's recognition of the upcoming reference (Heritage, 2007), American TV shows. In the segment, Fen points out the ubiquity of direct disagreement in American TV shows, a perspective that has been left out of Kim's proffered evaluation (lines 51-53). In response to Fen's comment, both Yoko and Kim gaze at Fen and deliver the particle

³⁴ See Chapter 4 and its discussion on the gaze delay in doing disagreement.

oh in an affectively loaded manner (i.e., with sound stretches and high pitch) to index a cognitive shift in their knowledge states (Heritage, 1984b, 2005) (lines 54-55). In addition, Kim asserts her recognition by saying *RIGHT* with loud volume and directing her right thumb toward Fen.³⁵ When Kim utters *discussion* (line 55), she makes quick circular movements with both hands facing downwards to visually depict a specific kind of discussion. In response to Kim's "act of noticing" (Schegloff, 2007, p. 219), Fen visually demonstrates her understanding of what Kim is referring to by reproducing similar hand movements, thereby achieving intersubjective engagement through matching gestures (Lerner, 2002) and dialogic tying (Arnold, 2012).³⁶ In mutual gaze with Fen, Kim utters the gesture's speech affiliate (Schegloff, 1984; Streeck, 1988) *ARGUE* with enhanced volume. In the subsequent talk, Fen conveys her agreement by prefacing her turn with a high pitched agreement token ↑*yah*, and offering words with similar meanings, including the preposition *against* (line 58) and the verbs *disrupt* and *shouting* (line 60). Interestingly, when Fen utters *disrupt* and *shouting*, she repeats the gesture used earlier for the verb *argue* to visually formulate these words as equivalent to the aggressive discussions depicted in American TV shows. Yoko produces two lengthening news receipt tokens in lines 59 and 62, and Kim responds with laughter in lines 63 and 64, demonstrating their understanding of the kind of phenomenon Fen is referring to.

In line 66, Kim keeps her gaze toward Fen as she upgrades the previous recognitional references (*argue*, *against*, *disrupt*, and *shouting*) with a specific category of TV shows, reality shows (Kim, 2009; Schegloff, 1996b; Stivers, 2007).

³⁵ Kim's display of affiliation is comparable to the analysis in Chapter 4.

³⁶ Arnold (2012) refers to nonverbal tying techniques as *dialogic embodied action*, in which "coparticipants purposefully take up and reproduce aspects of one another's gestures and instrumental actions." Arnold further emphasizes that the point of dialogic tying is "not that individuals produce the same behavior in an identical gesture, but rather that the gestures are designed to be seen as the same" (p. 270).

Fen then provides a confirmation token (line 68) to achieve a higher degree of intersubjectivity with Kim (Kim, 2009; Schegloff, 1996b). On the basis of such shared understanding, Fen proceeds to give the upshot of the prior talk with a *so*-preface and makes the assessment that Helen's disagreement is similar to the disagreements shown on American reality shows. The assessment immediately receives simultaneous acknowledgement from Yoko and Kim as they nod their heads with co-occurring talk (lines 72-73). Building on their acknowledgement, Fen eventually proffers a rather positive assessment, in relation to Kim's, that direct disagreement, like Helen's, might be acceptable on some occasions (line 77). Her turn-final epistemic marker *I don't know* (line 78) is used to downgrade her assessment and avoid disagreement from the recipients (Beach & Metzger, 1997; Tsui, 1991). The marker also serves as a "stake inoculation" (Potter, 1996)³⁷ that minimizes Fen's interest in the matter. In response, Kim withdraws her gaze while using the particle *oh::* to register Fen's preceding assessment as informing (line 79) and a soft-spoken *°okay°* to mark sequence closure (line 81).

In this excerpt, Fen utilizes the reference negotiation sequence to display her stance in a step-wise fashion. She first brings the recipients' attention toward disagreements performed in a different environment, American TV shows, then draws an analogy between Helen's disagreement and the disagreements seen on the American television, and finally introduces her contrasting perspective on Helen's direct disagreement. The recipients' subsequent recognition claim and realization display embody their noticing of blunt oppositional talk in American TV shows and its similarity to Helen's disagreement.

While the recipients in this interaction do not demonstrate clear affiliation with

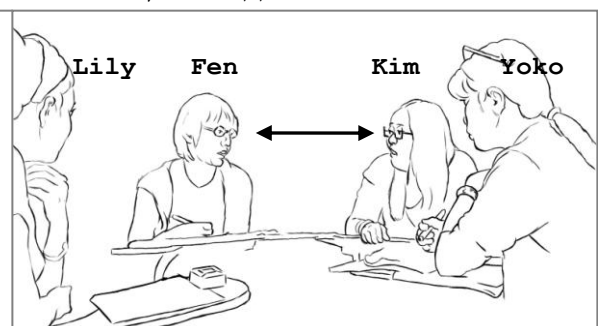
³⁷ Potter (1996) writes, "In situations where descriptions might be undermined as interested, stake inoculation presents a counter-interest" (p.128).

Fen's assessment on the pragmatics of reality TV, the recipients in the following two excerpts are clearly involved in the process of coming to recognize and affiliate with the speaker's stance.

In Excerpt 5.13, the participants discuss Helen's direct negation of Ken's opinion in the video. Prior to the segment, one participant, Yoko, had mentioned that she would not disagree in the same way as Helen.

5.13 CG1T1 [6:59-8:10]

170 (2.4)
 171 Fen: just listen first then ((looks at Kim))
 172 Kim: ri(h)ght, actually I I agree with uh: (0.8)Yoko yah;
 173 cause (.) actually um:: what I don't like um:: (.) about
 174 that (.) video; ((points RIF at the front))
 175 Yoko: °hm-huh°
 176 Kim: yah, \$I mean actually Helen\$ uh heh heh .hhh
 177 yah she:: um (0.5) ((looks down))
 178 Fen: kind of ↑rude; ((looks at Kim))
 179 Kim: yah I think so, I yah I feel something like that cause
 180 sh- (0.5) yah Ken explain , I mean Ken (.) yah explain
 181 (.)what his opinion is but .hhh (0.3) yah even she don't
 182 like, I mean she don't agree with HI::M
 183 Yoko: hm-huh=
 184 Kim: =but she had to wait ti::ll he he's end of his ideas
 185 yah, (.) so. ((looks down))
 186 (1.7)
 187 Fen: but actually (0.3) I can kind of understand why Helen
 188 act like this way yah; ↓cause maybe kind of emotional; =
 189 Kim: =[↑OH:: ↓I [see:: ((looks at Fen, nods))
 190 Yoko: [((looks at Fen, nods))
 191 Fen: [yah::
 192 (1.6)
 193 Fen: yah so:: ((looks down))
 194 (.)



195 Kim: yah::= ((looks away))
 196 Fen: =but actually I won't do the same ((looks at Kim))
 197 Yoko: eh [heh [heh .hhhh ((looks at Fen))
 198 Kim: [heh [heh ((looks at Fen))
 199 Fen: [yah maybe I will just, maybe after he (0.3)
 200 finish I will just say (0.5) well okay yah but I think
 201 >blah blah blah< [>something like that<
 202 Kim: [>\$but you know\$< eh huh even we talk
 203 like this, but when we like anger or upset, w(h)ell
 204 [\$maybe we do the same as like h(h)er\$ heh heh [heh heh .hhh
 205 Yoko: [heh heh ((nods))
 206 Fen: [yah::
 207 (0.5)
 208 Kim: I think so ((looks down, nods))
 209 Yoko: hm-huh ((nods))
 210 (0.7)

In lines 172-174, Kim displays her agreement with Yoko's prior talk and adds a clause marked by *cause* to explain her negative stance toward Helen's disagreement. The incomplete turn and pause in Kim's turn (line 177) invite an anticipatory completion (Lerner, 1991, 1996, 2004) from Fen as she delivers an assessment in a try-marked intonation *kind of* ↑*rude*↓ (line 178). Kim immediately accepts the assessment and argues that Helen should have waited for Ken to finish his turn (lines 179-184). In line 185, Kim uses a stand-alone *so* without stating its projected upshot to prompt action by the recipients (Raymond, 2004, p. 190).

Following a substantial silence (line 186), Fen gazes down while beginning her turn with the contrastive marker *but* (line 187); thus, she vocally and visually projects an upcoming disagreeing response to what Kim has just said. Indeed, Fen proceeds to present a sympathetic understanding of Helen's disagreement with the assessment term *emotional* rather than *rude*. In doing so, Fen puts forward an alternative perspective on the evaluated event, which has not been acknowledged by Kim. By

delivering the assessment term with a slightly upward intonation, Fen softens her stance display toward Helen's disagreement. On achieving mutual gaze with Fen, Kim immediately responds with the change of state token ↑*OH*:::, spoken in loud volume, high pitch, sound stretches, and a widening mouth, to embody her cognitive shift from a state of non-knowing to knowing (Heritage, 1984b, 2005). In addition to her gaze direction, Kim accompanies her *oh*-prefaced turn with a series of head nods. The coordination of Kim's talk, gaze, intonation, and head nods explicitly contributes to the observability of her cognitive state, which has shifted as a result of Fen's preceding turn. In conjunction with Kim's talk, Yoko gazes at Fen and produces several head nods to claim her understanding of Fen's prior talk.

Another noticeable pause begins to emerge in line 192, where Kim, Yoko, and Lily all bring their gaze toward Fen as if they were waiting for her to elaborate on her prior assessment. Instead, rather than expound on her assessment, Fen produces a stand-alone *so* with sound stretches (line 193) to prompt reciprocity display (Raymond, 2004). Fen's anticipation of recipient action, however, competes against the forms of participation that the recipients orient to as relevant to the activity in progress. When no explanation from Fen is forthcoming, Kim utters a token of recognition while shifting her gaze away from Fen (line 195).

Just when the sequence is coming to a close, Fen redirects her gaze toward Kim and launches a new telling by saying that regardless of her previous assessment, she would not disagree in the same way as Helen (line 196), exhibiting clear affiliation with Kim's earlier stance. Pomerantz (1984b) has observed that a speaker's change in position is an attempt to solve recipients' lack of uptake. The silence gap in line 192 and the minimal response in the following turns provide Fen a chance to reflect on what she has said and what was problematic in it. Her modified stance receives immediate laughter from Yoko and Kim, which embodies their understanding of the

difference between Fen's pragmatic assessment and her actual pragmatic performance. In lines 199-201, Fen elaborates her modified stance by enacting her own disagreeing responses, which serve to reinforce her affiliation with Kim and Yoko's stance toward Helen's direct negation.

By virtue of Fen's modified stance and affiliative response, Kim also initiates a stance shift by saying that despite their negative assessment of Helen's way of disagreeing, they might disagree directly, like Helen, when angry or upset (lines 202-204). In contrast to her previous telling, here, Kim uses the first-person plural *we* to highlight a collective rather than an individual stance on the asserted matter, indicating that a mutual orientation toward the evaluated event has now been established. Notice that Kim frames her response in such a way that it ties to Fen's earlier assessment of Helen as being *emotional*. By means of this verbal tying, Kim relates to Fen's assessment, puts herself in Helen's position, and thereby softens her initially strong disaffiliative stance toward Helen's disagreement. By embedding laughter throughout her telling, Kim publicly displays to the recipients how the difference between pragmatic ideology (their pragmatic perception) and practice (their actual conduct) should be perceived. In line 205, to show her affiliation, Yoko gazes at Kim, laughs, and produces a series of head nods. Fen also agrees by uttering *yah::* in line 206. After their display of affiliation, Kim strengthens her adjusted stance with the statement *I think so* (line 208), accompanied by several head nods.

In this instance, we have observed how Kim and Fen begin with contrasting opinions and end with a shared stance in their evaluations on Helen's disagreement. Their stance shift acknowledges coexisting but contrasting perspectives on Helen's direct negation and embodies a revised understanding of their own pragmatic performances. Their noticing of their divergent assessments on Helen's disagreement delivery is interactionally occasioned as they infer meanings from the details of each

121 Will: eh heh heh >[like this kind of problem<
 122 [((looks down, points RPF at TS))
 123 Gina: yah, I might say NO. ((pushes LH palm out, looks at Will))
 124 [that- (0.4) that (.) is [not ((looks at Lyn))
 125 Will: [uh ((looks at Gina))
 126 Lyn: [hm heh heh right
 127 [.hhh ((looks at Gina and looks down))
 128 Will: [eh heh heh (.) .hhh
 129 (1.4)

After a noticeable pause, Lyn initiates a new discussion by reading the third discussion question off her transcript (lines 101, 102, and 104). With no response projectable (line 105), Lyn launches a turn that expresses the possibility for her to disagree in the same way as Helen and Tim (lines 106-107), which clearly runs against the group's previously proffered negative assessment. The pre-positioned epistemic hedge *I don't know* in line 106 functions as "a forward-looking stance marker displaying that the speaker is not fully committed to what follows in their turn of talk" (Weatherall, 2011, p. 317). Lyn's use of the generic *you* rather than *I* in the subsequent turns (lines 107 and 113) lends further support to her less than full commitment toward the action in progress. Given the fact that other members have displayed a negative stance on the evaluated matter, Lyn's epistemic hedge and pronoun choice work to avoid possible disagreement in an interactionally delicate space. With their gazes toward Lyn, Will latches his laughter onto Lyn's prior turn (line 112), while Gina produces an acknowledgement token along with several head nods (line 114). Will and Gina's actions demonstrate their understanding of the difference between Lyn's pragmatic assessment and her pragmatic action.

Will's *and*-prefacing in line 116 projects his upcoming utterance as a continuation of Lyn's prior turn, projecting a rather affiliative attitude toward what Lyn has just said. Indeed, Will accounts for Lyn's opinion by commenting that one is

likely to disagree directly when participants hold totally opposite opinions. By using the same pronoun *you* with Lyn, Will distances himself from fully asserting the stance. Upon hearing Will's production of the assessment term *strong* with prosodic emphasis (line 118), Gina responds with a series of deep head nods. When Will's subsequent component becomes predictable, Gina produces the epistemic confirmation token *right* (Gardner, 2007) (line 119). At this point, it is evident that all three participants have recognized the gap between one's pragmatic ideology and actual performance. In line 121, Will gazes down and points his pinky finger at his transcript as he produces the deictic term *like this*, inviting the recipients' attention toward the likelihood that a strong disagreement will occur between Helen and Tim.

Building on Lyn and Will's shared stance toward direct disagreement, Gina exhibits explicit agreement by using the first person pronoun *I* rather than *you* to upgrade her epistemic certainty (line 123). In addition, she animates Helen and Tim's direct negation *NO* with enhanced volume while thrusting her left hand outwards, affiliating publicly with Helen and Tim's pragmatic performance. Gina proceeds to construct a strong disagreeing response without mitigation (line 124). Before she completes the turn, Lyn, in mutual gaze with Gina, produces laughter and the confirmation token *right* (line 126) to display her affiliative stance toward Gina's pragmatic performance, inviting responsive laughter from Will (line 128).

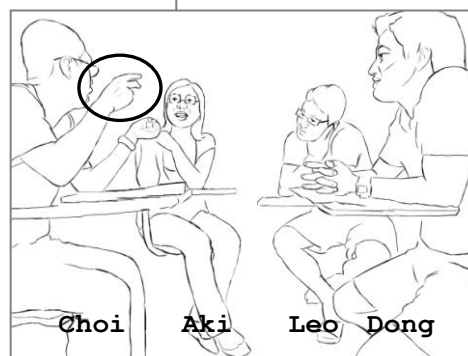
In this instance, we see that Lyn's adjusted stance toward her pragmatic performance motivates the other two participants, Will and Gina, to notice and acknowledge the gap between their initial assessments and real life, resulting in an upgrade of epistemic commitment and increasingly heightened appreciation toward Helen and Tim's direct disagreement. Therefore, the change in Will and Gina's stance displays emerges to the interactional surface as a collaborative achievement.

The next three segments also illustrate the process in which the participants'

stances toward the disagreement sequence are revised locally and collaboratively in interaction. Prior to Excerpt 5.15, Choi evaluated Helen's disagreement as *rude*, while making a more positive assessment on Ken's performance. In the following segment, Aki initiates an alternative perspective, which leads to a change in Choi's initial stance. The beginning portion of the segment (lines 189-200) was presented in Chapter 4 as Excerpt 4.18, where the analysis focused on Aki's gaze direction in delivering her disagreeing response. Here, we will focus on line 200 onwards, where Choi demonstrates a change in his stance toward Ken's performance in the group discussion.

5.15 CG2T1 [6:47-7:17]

189 (0.3) ((looks at Aki))
 190 Aki: yah::, [↑but I um[::::
 191 Choi: [yah;
 192 Dong: [oh[::: ((looks at Choi and Aki, nods))
 193 Leo: [hm::: ((looks down))
 194 (0.5)
 195 Aki: I also think um:: Ken talk too mu(h)ch ° hhh °
 196 Choi: ya(h)h [ya(h)h yah yah ((looks at Aki))
 197 Aki: [HEH HEH heh [heh heh
 198 Leo: [heh heh
 199 Choi: [yah yah yah yah]
 200 Aki: [s(h)o(h)::: Helen] wants to s[top] his talking
 201 Choi: [yah]
 202 Aki: he [he > I I just I <] guess.=
 203 Choi: [↑uh maybe yah] ((points LIF at Aki))
 204 =yah (.) maybe (0.3) [maybe (0.5) Ken (0.5)
 205 Aki: [heh heh
 206 Choi: did not give the chance to sp[eak yah::; ((lifts RH))





207 Aki: [to uh
 208 the [other:: members] yah= ((moves RH forward))
 209 Choi: [to yah to the] ((looks at Aki, moves RH forward))
 210 =yah other members=
 211 Aki: =yah=
 212 Choi: =[only he can (0.3) talk [about] the his (0.4) opinion
 213 [((points LIF at TS))
 214 Aki: [yah:]
 215 yah[::
 216 Leo [hm[:::
 217 Choi: [he's- (.) maybe he is rude. ((points LIF, looks at Aki))
 218 (0.3)
 219 Aki: [EH HEH HEH [heh heh hhh
 220 Choi: [yah¿ [heh heh heh ↓yah¿
 221 (1.0)

In lines 190 and 195, Aki proffers a negative assessment of Ken's performance, which stands in contrast to Choi's earlier assessment. Aki's assessment receives several agreement tokens from Choi (line 196 and 199) and collaborative laughter from both Choi and Leo (lines 196 and 198). Building on Choi and Leo's contingent understanding of her assessment, Aki uses a *so*-prefaced turn to produce the upshot of Aki's prior talk (line 200), that is, Helen interrupted Ken and directly disagreed with him because Ken was too talkative. In line 202, Aki directs her gaze to Choi while epistemically downgrading her preceding assessment with *I guess* to facilitate agreement. During the overlap, Choi points his left index finger toward Aki, thereby framing the upcoming turn as specifically relevant to Aki. He holds his pointing

gesture throughout lines 203-206 to maintain a claim for speakership (Schegloff, 1984). As Choi restarts his turn (line 204), he demonstrates his understanding of Aki's talk by stating that Ken's talkativeness denies others the chance to participate (line 206). With a slight rising intonation at the end of his turn and his gaze toward Aki, Choi makes confirmation from Aki relevant. Upon the production of *yah:ç*, Choi lifts his right hand from its resting position, signaling that he is in the preparation phase of gesticulation (Kendon, 2004; McNeill, 1992). Note that Choi's turn in line 206 is syntactically incomplete, lacking a preposition phrase after *give the chance*. Aki responds to Choi's verbal and embodied actions by extending her right arm forward, almost simultaneously with Choi's gesture, during their overlap in lines 208-209 while producing a preposition phrase that completes Choi's prior turn. Looking closer at Aki's turn in 207, it becomes evident that Choi's incomplete turn and preparatory hand movement provide Aki with projective resources to anticipate what he is about to say and act and thus coordinate her vocal and visual conduct in a way that not only matches Choi's unfolding hand movement, but also fits into the syntactic structure of his preceding turn. Their matching gestures and co-occurring talk thus exhibit their heightened engagement in and precise understanding of the emerging course of action.

After receiving confirmation from Aki in lines 208 and 211, in line 212, Choi begins his turn and places his left index finger on his transcript. By asserting *only he*, Choi upgrades his affiliation with Aki's negative assessment of Ken, indexing that his stance on Ken's performance has shifted from a positive stance to a negative one. Choi's deployment of an extreme case formulation (Edwards, 2000; Pomerantz, 1986) elicits agreement and recognition from Aki (lines 214-215) and Leo (line 216). In line 217, as Choi restarts his turn after the micro-pause with *maybe*, he leans his body, redirects his gaze, and points his left index finger toward Aki, which overtly select

Aki as the primary addressee of his emerging utterance. Also during his turn, Choi comments on his prior description and proffers an explicit assessment of Ken as being *rude*. Aki responds to Choi's adjusted assessment with a burst of laughter (line 219). Their subsequent shared laughter (lines 219-220) indexes their escalated affiliation with each other (Jefferson, 1979).

The foregoing analysis shows that Aki's alternative perspective allows Choi to realize that disagreement is a collaborative action and that Ken and Helen's disagreement was performed by both Ken and Helen; how Ken organizes his participation is relevant to how Helen carries out the disagreement. As a consequence of Aki's challenge, Choi displays his understanding by co-explaining Aki's initial assessment (Ken as talkative), and eventually makes a compatible second assessment (Ken as rude). Aki's affiliative stance is equally present in her vocal and visual actions, both of which she uses to jointly build a turn with Cho. Therefore, Choi's stance shift toward the disagreement sequence is produced responsively and accomplished collaboratively in interaction. Excerpt 5.16 also showcases how stance shift is achieved interactively.

The beginning sequence of Excerpt 5.16 (lines 22-32) was examined in Chapter 4 as Excerpt 4.16, where the analysis focused on Fen's gaze direction in doing disagreement (line 26). In the following segment, attention is paid to how Fen's disagreeing response prompts Kim to change her initial stance.

5.16 CG1T3 [25:42-26:18]

22 (1.7)
 23 Kim: yah it's †kinda simi(h) la(h) r ri(h) gh(h) t [.hhhh
 24 Fen: [yah=
 25 Kim: =similar than befo(h) re heh heh[heh
 26 Fen: [yah but (0.5)
 27 I think just the way: she interrupt is:: (0.3)

28 mo::re (0.3) polite;= ((looks away and looks at Kim))
 29 Kim: =[RIGHT ((looks at Fen, points RT, and nods))
 30 Yoko: [hm ((looks at Fen, nods))
 31 Fen: yah
 32 (1.6) ((Kim and Yoko look down and nod))
 33 Kim: yah: feel (0.3) cause (.) yah if she:: (.) talk like
 34 like this, (0.4) and (0.5) uh:: (0.5) yah Amy; (0.3)
 35 yah she:: don't fee:l like (1.0) that much un- (.)
 36 unco- uncomfor[table ((looks at Fen))
 37 Fen: [yah ((nods))
 38 (0.4)
 39 Kim: like I mean (0.6) upse:t or= ((looks at Fen))
 40 Fen: =yah[::
 41 Kim: [° something °
 42 (0.6)
 43 Fen: it's not really that rude. ((looks at Kim))
 44 (0.3) ((Kim nods))

In lines 23 and 25, Kim makes the assessment that Wen's disagreement is similar to Helen's disagreement in the previous video task. In response, Fen presents the observation that, in contrast to Helen, Wen's disagreement is actually more polite (lines 26-28), which receives immediate agreement from Kim (line 29). Fen's perspective makes Kim notice the difference, not similarity, between Wen and Helen's delivery of disagreement. Following a 1.6-second pause in line 32, Kim employs a causal extension (line 33) that is syntactically and semantically coherent with the prior turn and thereby commits herself to the same evaluation as Fen. In addition, the causal extension does not just claim, but also demonstrates her agreement with Fen.

Specifically, Kim states that the way Wen disagrees would not make the recipient, Kei, feel uncomfortable (lines 33-36) or upset (line 39). Kim's statement indicates a rather positive attitude toward Wen's method of disagreement. Subsequently, with her gaze toward Kim, Fen proffers another assessment to explicate what has been suggested in Kim's prior talk and to confirm their shared stance on viewing Wen's

disagreement as markedly different from Helen's, or more precisely, not as *rude* as Helen's (line 43).

In this excerpt, we can see that Fen's contrasting perspective gives Kim another chance to reflect on how Wen disagreed with Kei and to notice what sets Wen's disagreement apart from Helen's. In this regard, the speaker's divergent assessment serves as the vehicle for the recipient to notice pragmatic features that were not registered before. In other words, the divergence between the participants' assessments carries positive consequences by making them aware of perspectives that were not previously deemed as relevant. Let us take a look at one final example.

Before the segment began, Eri said that she did not like Ken's negation and interruption of other people's opinions. Following her negative assessment, in Excerpt 5.16, Alam asks other participants about the ways one could disagree properly.

5.17 P2T1 [8:04-8:30]

229 Alam: so:: what is the:: (0.4) the way then
230 (0.6)
231 Alam: what is the good way [to disagree
232 Eri: [yah::
233 [he-
234 Mei: [but I think it's just a debate. ((looks at Alam))
235 (0.3)
236 Mei: >if you wanna say something, you just shout out.<
237 (.)
238 Mei: you don't [have to wait for others. ((looks front))
239 Eri: [hhh heh heh
240 [yeah::
241 Mei: [this is not an hhh a class for you to have chance
242 to talk in:: (0.4) equally I [mean [yah: ((looks down))
243 Eri: [yeah:: [he should give
244 chance to (0.3) ((nods slightly))
245 Mei: ° yah °
246 (.)

original assertion, Mei states that even in debate, it is necessary that Ken respects other people's opinions. In addition, the modified assertion is delivered with a pronounced shift of prosody (slower speed, pauses, and lowered volume). Subsequently, Eri and Alam display their acknowledgement of Mei's adjusted stance (lines 251-253).

After a 1-second pause (line 254), Alam fixes his gaze on Eri while supplying the final component to her earlier turn with rising intonation (line 255). Before Alam's turn comes to its completion, Mei claims her agreement and co-produces the turn component *to others* (line 256), demonstrating Mei and Alam's concurrent understanding of what Eri is going to say next (line 244). At this point, Mei has shifted her stance from viewing direct disagreement as normal in debate to viewing respect for others' opinion as necessary in group discussion. With reference to what Eri has said and not said, Mei revises and modifies her understanding of the disagreement sequence as the interaction proceeds. Her stance shift is thus interactionally generated.

In this section, we have examined cases in which participants negotiate and revise their understanding of disagreement in concert with one another. When a contrasting perspective on the pragmatic object is introduced, participants are prompted to review their initial assessments, analyze what might have been problematic, take notice of the gap between pragmatic ideology and their own pragmatic performances, and eventually modify their stances toward the evaluated disagreement sequences. In this study, the participants modified their stances toward disagreement through an intrinsically interactional and collaborative process. It is precisely through this process that the participants registered a noticing of pragmatic assessments that were separate from theirs, which they could respond to, affiliate with, disaffiliate from, and negotiate with as the interaction unfolded.

5.5. Summary

In this chapter, I have proposed a reconceptualization of noticing as a situated social practice that participants accomplish in local interaction. The analysis provides a detailed empirical account of the ways in which participants practice interactional noticing of the disagreement sequences in the assessment activity. As the analysis shows, the participants' noticing is lodged within the interaction's own process where the participants monitor the ongoing talk and embody the experience of noticing as a local concern. By using assessment terms at sequence opening as prospective indexicals, speakers subsequently fill in the specification of what they have noticed in the disagreement delivery and mobilize the recipients' attention toward such a projected action. When speakers repeat initial assessment terms with a *so* preface at sequence closing, they register the recipients' lack of uptake of what they have said in the preceding turns so as to ensure that their assessment does not escape the recipients' attention. When different evaluations on disagreement are proffered, participants are alerted to alternative perspectives on how disagreement is carried out and confronted with separate evaluations of an event they experienced together. It is through encountering the assessments of others that the participants come to recognize disaffiliation in their stances, adjust their initial perspectives, and arrive at a shared understanding of the pragmatic object.

The analysis also bears pedagogical relevance for classroom activities on pragmatics instruction. The participants' practice of interactional noticing in the collaborative assessment activity lends support to Ohta's (2005) observation that peer collaboration rather than individual work might afford students with the amount of assistance necessary to notice targeted pragmatic forms. In her reanalysis of three interventional studies on interlanguage pragmatics, Ohta evaluates the effectiveness of instructional treatments in light of sociocultural theory and, in particular, the zone of

proximal development (ZPD). For example, using the ZPD as her foundation, Ohta asks whether the implicit conditions in Takahashi's (2001) study might have promoted noticing more effectively if the students had been afforded the opportunity to pool their knowledge through group work, instead of working on tasks individually. Ohta's evaluation demonstrates the value of the ZPD to assess different types of assistance and the possibility of conducting interventional studies from a socially grounded rather than a cognitive processing perspective.

In parallel with Ohta's proposal, the analysis of this chapter views noticing not as a matter of individual cognition, but as a manifestation of interactional practice. By collaborating with others in the assessment activity, the participants engage in the noticing of assessment terms, seek recognition of their stance displays, and negotiate their assessments while attending to contrasting opinions. Schegloff (2007) observed that sequences with dispreferred responses are "expansion-relevant" (p. 117). Indeed, in the foregoing analysis, we can see that "points of disagreement help to expand and deepen the interaction" (Fujimoto, 2010, p. 319), constituting key loci where the participants come to notice different stances toward disagreement and reconcile their divergent understandings of the pragmatic object.³⁸ For this reason, a multiparty pragmatic assessment activity provides a favorable condition that facilitates noticing. Specifically, such an assessment activity supplies opportunities for L2 speakers to attend to different perspectives on the pragmatic phenomenon and, finally, calibrate their own pragmatic assessments.

The proposed reconceptualization of interactional noticing is not meant to deny the importance of psycholinguistic research on individual cognition, but to unravel

³⁸ Although having a different investigative focus, Sharma (2012) concludes that disagreements are preferred pedagogical practices because they create opportunities for students to display multiple perspectives while accomplishing the tasks assigned to them (p. 24). The special issue on theorizing disagreement, edited by Angouri & Locher (2012), also emphasizes that disagreement cannot be seen as an *a priori* negative act. In some contexts, disagreement can be a valued and beneficial practice.

how noticing works in interaction as a local, occasioned, public, visible, social, and consequential matter. This study's analysis offers new insights into how language learners direct, secure, and enhance their attention to the pragmatically relevant conduct in the video and how attention is oriented to as a practical accomplishment and a shared activity. How noticing is empirically respecified and analytically considered in this chapter, therefore, enables classroom researchers and language teachers to appreciate the value of peer collaboration in pragmatic assessment, where the interaction among language learners becomes a context for noticing to be generated and observed.

CHAPTER 6

AUTHENTIC MATERIALS FOR PRAGMATIC ASSESSMENT

6.1. Introduction

This study differs from previous pragmatic assessment research in two respects: the method and the material used for pragmatic assessment. Chapters 4 and 5 have discussed the implications of the method, the multiparty assessment activity, in terms of how assessment is reconceptualized as a collaborative multimodal activity and how participants practice pragmatic noticing in visible behavioral terms. In Chapter 6, I will discuss the use of authentic materials as the object for this study's pragmatic assessment activity. The chapter begins with the debate on using language textbooks for pragmatic instruction. Second, the pedagogical possibility of applying CA findings to L2 pragmatics as a form of instructional intervention (Antaki, 2011b) will be investigated. Third, this chapter will review assessment materials from previous research and supply a rationale for using video recordings of naturally occurring interactions as the object for assessment. Lastly, the advantages of employing authentic disagreement sequences as the object of assessment for the participants' small group discussions will be examined.

6.2. The Gap between Textbook Language and Authentic Language

Research in L2 pragmatics has criticized the lack of realistic and relevant pragmatic models in language textbooks, particularly scrutinizing their dependence on invented dialogue and failure to reflect the structures of natural discourse (de Pablos-Ortega, 2011; Eisenclas, 2011; Gilmore, 2007, 2011; Martínez-Flor & Usó-Juan, 2010; Vallenga, 2004; Wong & Waring, 2010). By virtue of textbooks' poor representation of real world interaction, Bardovi-Harlig (2001) asserts that "textbooks

cannot be counted as a reliable source of pragmatic input for classroom language learners” (p. 25). The gap between textbook language and authentic language is well illustrated in Crandall and Basturkmen’s (2004) evaluation of requests, Bardovi-Harlig et al’s (1991) survey on conversation closings, Boxer and Pickering’s (1995) analysis of complaints, Gardner’s (2000) assessment of agreement and disagreement, and Gilmore’s (2004) examination of discourse features.

The dearth of accurate pragmatic models in language textbooks underscores the need for naturally occurring language samples to bridge the gap between textbook examples and naturally occurring dialogue. In her analysis of the commonly used Japanese question word *doshite* in language textbooks, Mori (2005) points out that it is necessary for teachers and materials designers to sensitize students to real life language use so that students become aware of the sociolinguistic implications that accompany their choice of expressions. Indeed, various alternatives have been proposed to present authentic pragmatic models, such as using audiovisual inputs (i.e., video, films, TV shows) (Alcón, 2005; Grant & Starks, 2001; Rose, 2001), employing synchronous computer-mediated communication (González-Lloret, 2008, 2009), and inviting target language speakers as classroom guests (Tateyama & Kasper, 2008). In the end, what these researchers argue for is a need to base our materials and teaching practices upon a more accurate picture of natural discourse.

6.3. CA-based Materials for Pragmatic Instruction

Given this need for authentic language models, CA’s strength in providing a microscopic inspection of speech act sequences bears obvious pedagogical relevance. By virtue of its sequential analysis, CA is a useful tool to evaluate whether language textbooks faithfully convey how speech acts are organized in naturally occurring interaction (Schegloff et al., 2002). For instance, Wong (2002, 2007) compares the

structure of telephone conversations in ESL textbooks with that found in CA literature. Her analysis suggests that the textbooks she examined presented a misleading picture of how participants actually carry out telephone openings, emphasizing that material writers should consider recurrent sequential structures in everyday mundane talk when drafting such models. Besides telephone dialogues, CA has provided detailed and coherent descriptions of a variety of social actions across different languages, such as conversational openings and closings (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973), compliments (Golato, 2002, 2005; Huth, 2006, 2007; Pomerantz, 1978), complaints (Monzoni, 2008; Schegloff, 2005), agreement and disagreement (Mori, 1999; Pomerantz, 1984a), apologies (Robinson, 2004), arguments (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1990), invitations (Drew, 1984), rejections (Davidson, 1984), and requests (Huth, 2010; Kasper, 2006a; Taleghani-Nikazm, 2005, 2006; Taleghani-Nikazm & Huth, 2010; Tateyama & Kasper, 2008; Wootton, 1981). The interactional patterns and linguistic constructions that CA illuminates for these speech act sequences obviously constitute a valuable resource for materials development and pragmatic instruction.

Barraja-Rohan (1997; see also Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard, 1997) was the first to apply CA-based materials in the classroom teaching of pragmatics and aimed to explicate the orderliness of conversations to language teachers and learners. More recently, Wong and Waring (2010) published a CA guidebook for ESL and EFL teachers, specifically focusing on the direct application of CA in language pedagogy. They argue that the strength of CA-based materials reside in CA's capacity to make "what is otherwise intuitive and elusive explicit, teachable, and enriching for second language teachers and their learners" (p. 12). With a solid understanding of the sequentiality of conversational structures, teachers are better equipped to teach students how a particular interactional practice works in real situations. Packett (2005) and Jones (2007), for example, clearly illustrate the contributions that CA findings

make to institutional training and practice in classroom settings. Specifically, Packett demonstrates how CA-informed materials help sensitize journalist students to the specialized turn-taking system of broadcast interviews and provide them with the means to “to inductively discover in the empirical details of talk-in-interaction what it actually means to ‘do interview’” (p. 239). Similarly, Jones’ study describes how recordings and transcriptions of actual nurse-patient interactions help student-nurses understand what constitutes clinically effective communication with patients. Besides CA’s promising application to students’ professional training, CA can be an effective tool in informing and improving teachers’ instructional practices (Lazaraton & Ishihara, 2005; Wong & Waring, 2009).

Regarding L2 pragmatic instruction, studies by Félix-Brasdefer (2006), Huth and Taleghani-Nikazm (2006), and Huth (2006, 2007, 2010) demonstrate the viability of using CA-based materials for classroom intervention. Félix-Brasdefer (2006) uses CA as a pedagogical resource to teach American learners of Spanish the negotiation of refusals and develop their awareness of cross-cultural differences in pragmatics. Huth and Taleghani-Nikazm (2006) also utilize CA literature on telephone openings to facilitate beginning learners’ understandings of sociopragmatic rules in the target language. Likewise, a series of studies conducted by Huth (2006, 2007, 2010) have emphasized the value of using CA findings to teach culture-specific behavior and develop intercultural competence. Huth (2006) summarizes the advantages of CA-informed materials as: (1) they are authentic and empirically based; (2) they direct learners’ attention to potential sources of pragmatic transfer;³⁹ and (3) they help learners to “anticipate, interpret, and produce relevant next turns in keeping with target language pragmatics” (p. 2045-2046).

³⁹ Huth (2006) used authentic examples from Pomerantz (1978) and Golato’s (2002) studies of American English and German compliment sequences to heighten L2 learners’ awareness of possible pragmatic transfer in complimenting behavior.

In sum, the above studies exemplify what Antaki (2011a) terms “interventionist applied CA” in that they utilize CA findings to generate interventions in pragmatic instruction. As these studies indicate, language learners using such materials are provided with the opportunity to critically reflect on their own pragmatic performances and identify practices that are culturally appropriate. Based on this line of research, this study works to make a novel contribution to interventionist CA (Antaki, 2011b) by using recordings and transcripts of real interactions for the participating L2 speakers’ pragmatic assessment activity.

6.4. Materials for Pragmatic Assessment

Despite CA’s applicability to pragmatic instruction, using authentic interactional materials for assessment activities is still uncharted territory. Regarding the object of assessment, written materials with intuitively invented dialogues and isolated language samples have dominated interlanguage pragmatics studies, as evident in the widely used questionnaire instrument, which includes discourse completion tests (DCT), multiple choice questions, and rating scales. In their argument for more research based on situated authentic discourse, Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (2005) report a lack of interactivity (i.e., opportunities for participants to take turns in conversation) and consequentiality (i.e., a real world outcome) in highly controlled production questionnaires. Regarding this type of data, Kasper (2008b) writes:

[E]xcluded from study are precisely those pragmatic features that are specific to spoken interactional discourse—any aspect related to interactional contingencies, turn-taking, sequencing of actions, speaker-listener coordination, features of speech production that may have pragmatic import, such as hesitation, and all paralinguistic and non-verbal resources. (p. 291)

The following multiple-choice question exemplifies Kasper’s observation.

6.1 (Rose & Ono, 1995, p. 221)

You are studying in your room for a test that you have tomorrow, but you cannot concentrate because your younger brother is listening to loud music in the next room. What would you day or do?

- a. I would say, "Can you listen on the headphones?"
- b. I would say, "I have a test tomorrow."
- c. I would be patient and keep studying.
- d. I would say, "Use your headphones."

The multiple-choice example includes a situational context, a prompt, and alternative request responses. Participants are to select the most preferred option. Although the fixed response options may resemble what people may actually say or do within this given setting, they do not necessarily reflect how requests are organized in actual conversation. As an example of how interactional data may inform our understanding of requests, the following excerpt from Schegloff (2006)⁴⁰ demonstrates the importance of using preliminaries⁴¹ as action projections to maximize the likelihood of acceptance and successfully secure a request.

6.2 (Schegloff, 2006, p. 150)

- 1 Fred: oh by the way ((sniff)) I have a bi:g favor
- 2 to ask ya.
- 3 Laur: Sure, go'head.
- 4 Fred: (.) 'Member the blouse you made a couple
- 5 weeks ago?
- 6 Laur: Ya.
- 7 Fred: Well I want to wear it this weekend to Vegas
- 8 but my mom's buttonholer is broken.
- 9 Laur: Fred I told ya when I made the blouse I'd do
- 10 the buttonholes
- 11 Fred: Ya ((sniff)) but I hate ta impose.
- 12 Laur: No problem. We can do them on Monday after work.

⁴⁰ This excerpt first appeared in Schegloff (1980, p. 112-113).

⁴¹ Preliminaries are oriented to as prior to the upcoming first pair part of an adjacency pair. They are pre-expansion sequences that project the specific action of the first pair part (See Schegloff, 2007).

In this segment, Fred uses two preliminaries (lines 1 and 4) to gradually make her request recognizable to Laur and, in doing so, enhance Laur's commitment to the upcoming course of action. Indeed, Laur anticipates the projected action and produces an offer (lines 9-10) before the request is even articulated. As the example illustrates, how requests unfold sequentially as participants co-construct their social actions carries important pragmatic meaning, which is glossed over when using questionnaires.

The video judgment task initially developed by Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei (1998), later replicated by Niezgoda and Röver (2001) and Schauer (2006), and adapted by Bardovi-Harlig and Griffin (2005), is an improvement over the use of written dialogues because a video recording provides participating learners with rich contextual information on the speech acts in question. However, the test items developed by Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei were elicited from English learners and native speakers' individual responses to DCTs and are thus still based on scripted examples with a limited number of turns. An example stimulus item is presented below.

6.3 (Bardovi-Harlig & Dörnyei, 1998, p. 260).

The teacher asks Peter to help with the plans for the class trip.

T: OK, so we'll go by bus. Who lives near the bust station? Peter, could you check the bus times for us on the way home tonight?

P: #No, I can't tonight. Sorry.

Upon closer inspection, the temporal and sequential structures of rejection are disregarded in the item. CA literature has shown that, as a dispreferred action, rejection deals with complex and subtle interactional work (e.g., delays, prefaces, accounts, weak agreements; see Davidson, 1984; Drew, 1984; Pomerantz, 1984a). Recipients usually display some kind of trouble with the request before any rejection

is uttered at all, while speakers use preliminaries (as in the previous excerpt) and modify the initial request to enable a preferred response. In fact, when engaging in rejection, the use of a direct no (as in Peter's turn) is actually very rare in naturally occurring conversations (Kitzinger & Firth, 1999).⁴² Therefore, DCTs are not reliable for describing actual language use because they do not preserve information on how the focal action is realized vocally and visually in situated interactions (Félix-Brasdefer, 2010; Golato, 2003; Kasper, 2008b; see Chapter 2 for more information).

With these concerns in mind, using authentic interactional materials as the object of assessment provides a considerably rich means of learning because it provides context to the proffered situation, adds to the consequentiality of participant's pragmatic action in the situated interaction, and fosters an indispensable link between focal action and its sequential environment. In short, the use of authentic materials transcends the limitations of questionnaires. Given these distinct advantages, this study takes an innovative approach by using video footage of disagreement sequences from real classroom interactions as the material for the formulated pragmatic assessment activity. The naturally occurring disagreement sequences were collected from the students' small group discussions in two intact ESL listening and speaking courses (see Chapter 3). It was hoped that by using video recordings, the participants viewing the video would attend to the sequential production and multimodal achievement of the focal action. The analysis in the next section will then focus on the "affordances" (van Lier, 2000) that authentic interaction data brings to the focal action, disagreement, and to the assessment activity.

⁴² Kitzinger and Firth (1999) use the CA research on refusals to make a strong case that it is counter-productive for date rape prevention programs to insist that women refuse sex by saying no.

6.5. Analysis

In what follows, this section will discuss three advantages in using authentic materials for pragmatic assessment. We will first investigate how the authentic interaction data adds complexity to the situated context of disagreement and thus provides the participants with a rich context to position themselves during the assessment activity. Then, we will turn our attention to cases in which the participants compare disagreement practices across video tasks in order to make an informed opinion on what they consider to be an effective way of delivering disagreement. Next, cases where the participants describe and even animate the vocal and nonvocal conduct used in the disagreement sequences are examined. The analysis demonstrates how real pragmatic practices with different sequential organizations prompt the participants to (1) reflect on their performances, (2) identify, in their own terms, an effective disagreement practice, and (3) attend to disagreement as a multimodal achievement.

6.5.1. *Utilizing the Rich Contextual Information*

In this section, we will examine cases in which the participants display their understanding of the situational context surrounding disagreement and, as a result, affiliate with the disagreement practice shown in the video. In the first three excerpts, the participants' affiliation displays are manifested by their shift of footing (Goffman, 1981), from evaluating the disagreement action to participating in the disagreement sequence, during the assessment activity. Consider Excerpts 6.4 and 6.5.⁴³

6.4 CG1T1 [6:59-8:10]

172 (2.4)

173 Fen: just listen first then ((looks at Kim))

⁴³ Excerpts 6.4 and 6.5 were analyzed as Excerpts 5.13 and 5.14 respectively in Chapter 5.

174 Kim: ri(h)ght, actually I I agree with uh: (0.8)Yoko yahç
 175 cause (.) actually um:: what I don't like um:: (.) about
 176 that (.) videoç ((points RIF to the front))
 177 Yoko: °hm-huh°
 178 Kim: yah, \$I mean actually Helen\$ uh heh heh .hhh
 179 yah she:: um (0.5) ((looks down))
 180 Fen: kind of ↑rudeç ((looks at Kim))
 181 Kim: yah I think so, I yah I feel something like that cause
 182 sh- (0.5) yah Ken explain , I mean Ken (.) yah explain
 183 (.)what his opinion is but .hhh (0.3) yah even she don't
 184 like, I mean she don't agree with HI::M
 185 Yoko: hm-huh=
 186 Kim: =but she had to wait ti::ll he he's end of his ideas
 187 yah, (.) so. ((looks down))
 188 (1.7) ((Kim turns RH palm up, nods))
 189 Fen: but actually (0.3) I can kind of understand why Helen
 190 act like this way yahç ↓cause maybe kind of emotionalç =
 191 Kim: =[↑OH:: ↓I [see:: ((looks at Fen, nods))
 192 Yoko: [((looks at Fen, nods))
 193 Fen: [yah::
 194 (1.6)
 195 Fen: yah so:: ((looks down))
 196 (.)
 197 Kim: yah::= ((looks away))
 198 Fen: =but actually I won't do the same ((looks at Kim))
 199 Yoko: eh [heh [heh .hhhh ((looks at Fen))
 200 Kim: [heh [heh ((looks at Fen))
 201 Fen: [yah maybe I will just, maybe after he (0.3)
 202 finish I will just say (0.5) well okay yah but I think
 203 >blah blah blah< [>something like that<
 204 Kim: [>\$but you know\$< eh huh even we talk
 205 like this, but when we like anger or upset, w(h)ell
 206 [\$maybe we do the same as like h(h)er\$ heh heh [heh heh .hhh
 207 Yoko: [heh heh ((nods))
 208 Fen: [yah::
 209 (0.5)
 210 Kim: I think so ((looks down, nods))
 211 Yoko: hm-huh ((nods))

In this excerpt, Fen and Kim move from having contrasting opinions to affiliating with each other's opinions on Helen's use of an explicit negation in her disagreement sequence. Fen and Kim's negotiation process begins in lines 187 and 188, where Fen presents a sympathetic understanding of Helen's disagreement by formulating it as *emotional* rather than *rude*. In response, Kim first articulates her revised understanding of Helen's method of disagreement (line 189) and then adjusts her initial assessment by showing affiliation toward Helen's pragmatic action (lines 203-204). Kim's utterance *when we like anger or upset* (line 203) indicates her understanding of the situational context and her shift of footing from the perspective of one who evaluates the event to the perspective of one participating in the same situation as Helen. As a result of her perspective shift, Kim makes a corresponding shift in her attitude toward Helen's disagreement performance when she says *\$maybe we do the same as like h(h)er\$* (line 204) and later reinforces that affiliation in line 208.

The following excerpt presents a similar example. In this excerpt, the participants change their stances toward the disagreement sequence as they view it from a different perspective.

6.5 P3T2 [13:06-13:52]

130 (3.2) ((all look down))
 131 Lyn: so third question, is this something you will use when
 132 you disagree; ((looks down))
 133 (0.7)
 134 Lyn: or will you do it differently? ((looks down))
 135 (3.0)
 136 Lyn: I think I might (0.4) even though I- (0.6) I don't know,
 137 like (0.6) while you are in the (.) normal discussion:==
 138 Gina: =hm= ((looks at Lyn))

139 Will: =hm ((looks at Lyn))
 140 (0.3)
 141 Lyn: it's eas- really easy to acting this w(h)a(h)y heh=
 142 Will: =[heh heh ((looks at Lyn))
 143 Lyn: [even though you try not t(h)o= ((looks at Will, Gina))
 144 Gina: =hm:: ((looks at Lyn, nods))
 145 (0.3)
 146 Will: and: (1.0) especially some (0.4) some uh (1.0) some-
 147 uh sometimes the (0.6) you- you feel very very um:: (0.5)
 148 <strong [against> s:: some (.) [uh: some opinion
 149 Gina: [((nods)) [right. ((looks at Will))
 150 (0.6)
 151 Will: eh heh heh >[like this kind of problem<
 152 [((looks down, points RPF at TS))
 153 Gina: yah, I might say NO. ((pushes LH palm out, looks at Will))
 154 [that- (0.4) that (.) is [not ((looks at Lyn))
 155 Will: [uh ((looks at Gina))
 156 Lyn: [hm heh heh right
 157 [.hhh ((looks at and looks down))
 158 Will: [eh heh heh (.) .hhh
 159 (1.4)

As the participants respond to the task's discussion question (lines 101, 102 and 104), they gradually shift their stances toward Tim and Helen's disagreement sequence from a disaffiliative to an affiliative stance. In lines 107 and 111, Lyn formulates Tim and Helen's disagreement as something that easily occurs when participants are in similar situations, thereby showing her understanding of the situational context that Tim and Helen were engaged in. In line 116, Will uses an *and*-preface to invoke the continuation of Lyn's line of thought (Heritage & Sorjonen, 1994). By using the intensifiers *very very* twice (line 117), Will legitimizes the participants' pragmatic performances in an extreme condition, that is, a situation in which the participants' opinions are poles apart (line 118). Will proceeds to vocally and visually locate Tim and Helen's disagreement as one of those extreme conditions,

where overt disagreement is anticipated (lines 121-122). Will's understanding of the disagreement sequence is upgraded when Gina uses the first person pronoun *I* and animates Helen and Tim's direct opposition *NO* with her left palm pushing outwards (line 123) to exhibit her explicit affiliation with Helen and Tim's way of disagreeing. It is clear that both Gina's vocal and visual practices embody a shift in her perspective from evaluating to performing the disagreement. Such a footing shift is locally occasioned by what Lyn and Will have said and done. Lyn and Will's subsequent laughter (lines 126-128) displays their affiliation not only toward Gina's perspective shift, but also toward how Helen and Tim's disagreement is realized in a specific discourse context. Another example follows.

Before Excerpt 6.6, Choi made the assessment that Helen's use of the negative token *no* in her and Ken's disagreement was *rude*. Despite the negative assessment, Choi affiliates with Helen's pragmatic action, taking on the perspective of one participating in a similar situation, and describes it as both a personal choice and deliberate decision.

6.6 CG2T2 [17:21-17:48]

257 (1.4)
 258 Choi: yah: uh:: (0.7) .tch (0.9) at the same time,
 259 (0.5) uh:: >no no< is ↑sometime (0.6) I did
 260 [like this.
 261 [((looks at Dong, points RIF at TS))
 262 (0.6) ((Choi looks at Dong, taps RIF at TS))
 263 Aki: uh-[huh
 264 Choi: [yah, because (0.3) maybe my background is
 265 [like a teacher, ((looks at Aki))
 266 Aki: [ye::s ((looks at Choi))
 267 (0.3)
 268 Aki: uh-[huh
 269 Choi: [I have a strong (0.3) ((looks at Aki))
 270 Aki: ye::[s ((nods))

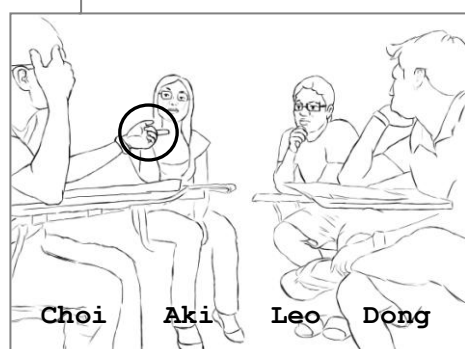
271 Choi: [opinion=
 272 Aki: =uh-[huh
 273 Choi: [in my (0.4) in my own [opinion ((brings RH to chest))
 274 Aki: [uh-huh
 275 (0.3)
 276 Choi: so I wanna express my (0.4) uh:: opinion [to:(0.6)
 277 Aki: [ye::s
 278 Choi: maybe some (0.3) to the (0.3) other people, (0.3)
 279 maybe:: to be ↑ru::de ((looks at Aki))
 280 (.)
 281 Aki: [uh-huh ((nods))
 282 Choi: [↓like this.
 283 (0.6)

After Choi asserts that he sometimes directly negates others' opinions with *no no* (lines 258-259), he produces the deictic term *like this* (line 260) while pointing his right index finger at his transcript and gazing toward Dong. In doing so, Choi draws the recipients' attention to Helen's overt disagreement, the specific interaction that he affiliates with. Choi proceeds to justify the affiliation by bringing up his teacher status (lines 264-265), opinionated personality (lines 269 and 271), and desire to have his voice heard (lines 273 and 276). Choi's justification emphasizes that his pragmatic decision to use the negative token is informed rather than random. Choi further shows his understanding of how his use of overt disagreement might be perceived by others (lines 278-279). By using the same assessment term ↑ru::de and saying it with a high pitch, sound stretches, and prosodic emphasis, Choi underscores the similarity between his and Helen's pragmatic performances. How Choi moves from his negative assessment of the video task to his affiliation with it demonstrates the complexity and ambivalence in his pragmatic practice. From this perspective, the authentic materials provide Choi with the opportunity to encounter such complexity and recognize the gap between his pragmatic ideology and real-life performance.

While the participants in the previous three excerpts show affiliative understanding of the situations in which the disagreement occurred in the video tasks, the recipients in the next two excerpts, Excerpts 6.7 and 6.8, use the task's contextual information to challenge the prior speaker's opinion.

6.7 CG2T1 [8:19-9:08]

265 (0.5)
 266 Choi: so:: (0.5) yah (0.5) in a similar situation (0.6) how
 267 do you (0.3) how did you do that
 268 (0.6)
 269 Choi: number three.=
 270 Dong: =number [three.
 271 Aki: [number [three.
 272 Choi: [yah [yah
 273 Dong: [number three.
 274 (2.9) ((Choi moves LH forward))
 275 Aki: how about [your opinion] ((moves RH to Leo))
 276 Choi: [uh yah] yah Leo =
 277 Leo: =yah I think yah (0.8) we need to:: (0.5) care about
 278 our par- care about other's::: talking first=
 279 Choi: =yah::
 280 Aki: uh-huh=
 281 Leo: =and then (1.2) we can talk after [their saying.=
 282 Choi: [uh
 283 =[yah
 284 Dong: [((nods, looks at Leo))
 285 (0.3)
 286 Choi: but if [(0.3) the speaker (.) did not give you the
 287 [((points LIF at Leo))
 288 chance to speak, (0.9) like Ken. (0.7)



289 Leo: like Ken?= ((looks down at TS))
 290 Choi: =yahǃ
 291 (0.4)
 292 Aki: hm::
 293 (0.5)
 294 Choi: he just [>talk and talk and talking continuously<
 295 [((circles LH))
 296 (0.4)
 297 Choi: didn't give the (.) chance to speak
 298 (0.3)
 299 Choi: I think in (1.3) yahǃ ((looks at Leo))
 300 Leo: I will wai:t
 301 Choi: HEH HEH [\$o(h)h yah:: goo:d\$] ((moves LH toward Leo))
 302 Leo: [till he: (ends)]
 303 (0.5)
 304 Choi: °yah::°=
 305 Leo: =I will wait.
 306 (0.7)
 307 Choi: ɿuh:: [you are very <polite.>
 308 Leo: [yah.

As the participants move on to the third discussion question (lines 266-273), Aki and Choi collaboratively other-select Leo to answer the question (lines 275-276). In response, Leo uses the first person plural *we* to provide a statement that is supposedly shared by the group (lines 277, 278, and 281). In line 286, Choi initiates a *but*-prefaced turn while pointing his left index finger at Leo (line 287), engaging Leo in a specific situational context that does not allow him the chance to speak (lines 286 and 288). During the 0.9-second pause, Choi brings his gaze down to his transcript and points two fingers at it when he utters the deictic term *like*. As Choi produces the name for the recognitional description *Ken*, he redirects his gaze to Leo.⁴⁴ By referring to the transcript and upgrading the recognitional reference with a name, Choi

⁴⁴ Since Choi has his left hand next to his face, it is difficult to see from the line drawing provided that he returns his gaze to Leo. However, the examination of the video recording clearly shows Choi's head movement as he goes from uttering the deictic term *like* to the recognitional description *Ken*.

makes the disagreement's contextual information more recognizable to Leo. In response to the delay in Leo's reply, Choi provides further description of Ken's performance in the given situation (lines 294 and 296) so as to have the situational context properly understood by Leo. By describing Ken's action with repetition, quick speed, and circular hand motions *>talk and talk and talking continuously<*, Choi emphasizes the aggression and dominance in Ken's participation. Finally, Leo reasserts that he would still wait for his turn even if his co-participant was as loquacious as Ken (lines 300, 302, and 305). In this interaction, we can see that Choi utilizes his understanding of the situational context to challenge Leo's opinion and motivate Leo to position himself as the addressed recipient of Ken's verbosity, not anybody else's. In Excerpt 6.8, Choi goes on to shift his footing, which enables him to perform what he would do if he were to encounter the same interaction shown in the video task.

6.8 CG2T1 [19:18-19:36]

309 (1.0)
310 Choi: .s:: (.) in my in my case, (0.3)
311 Aki: ye::s
312 (0.6)
313 Choi: I cut the (0.5) ((moves RH down, looks at Aki))
314 Aki: uh-huh ((nods))
315 (0.3)
316 Choi: talking
317 (0.3)
318 Leo: [heh heh
319 Aki: [(you're [not gonna) [wait
320 Choi: [yahꞤ [yah
321 (0.4)
322 Choi: wai(h)t heh [heh ((points RIF and looks at Leo))
323 Aki: [heh heh [heh
324 Choi: [I wanna expr(h)ess my opinion
325 (0.6)

326 Choi: wait. ((points RIF and looks at Dong))
 327 (0.9) ((Dong nods))
 328 Choi: yahɿ oh ↑yah that's right, but I think ((looks at Dong))
 329 something like that.= ((looks at Aki))
 330 Aki: =hm-huh
 331 (1.5)

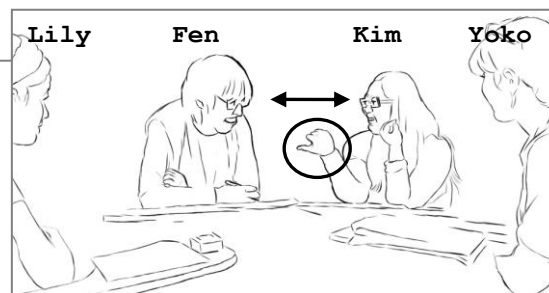
Following the pause in line 309 and after producing some inbreaths with hesitant prosody .s::, Choi provides a contrasting description of his disagreement practice (lines 310, 313, and 316). By keeping his right hand open and moving it quickly downwards at the production of the verb *cūt* (line 313), Choi verbally and visually indicates his directness in initiating a disagreeing response. In line 322, Choi points his right index finger at Leo when he performs the command *wai(h)t*, spoken with prosodic emphasis and a laughter token. In line 326, Choi repeats the command while shifting his pointing gesture and gaze to Dong, emphasizing that his negation is directly toward the speaker. Choi's verbal and visual actions show that he has shifted from the perspective of one who describes the event to one who actually delivers the disagreement. In mutual gaze with Dong, Choi acts out his disagreement even more explicitly by addressing Dong as the imaginary disagreeing party. In this sequence, Choi's enactment of his disagreement practice is anchored in his understanding of the environment in which Ken and Helen's disagreement was situated. It is clear that the authentic assessment materials provide the foundation for Choi to perform a disagreeing response that takes into account the situational context of Ken and Helen's interaction.

Next, we will examine a case in which a participant relates to the disagreement displayed in the video by positioning herself in the opposite context. Prior to Excerpt 6.9, Kim made the positive assessment that the video recipients used the continuer *uh-huh* and the acknowledgement token *yah* to display their hearership and

appreciation of the prior speaker's talk (see Excerpt 6.24).⁴⁵ The segment begins as Kim expresses how she would feel if she were in a situation that lacked such displayed reciprocity.

6.9 CG1T4 [43:12-43:39]

129 Kim: =r(h)i(h)ght, if I- yah you know (.) like if I speak
 130 some- (0.6) speak something, (0.3) but there's a no↑
 131 any respo(h)nse .hhh [I feel like (.)
 132 [((looks away))
 133 kind [of] (.) [uh:: ((looks away))
 134 Fen: [kinda] [lonel(h)y = ((looks at Kim))
 135 Kim: = YA(h)H R(h)IGHT heh heh [heh heh ((points RT at Fen))
 136 Fen: [(some)



137 Kim: .hhh yah so I think (0.6) yah that's ↑the::: (2.1) hm:::
 138 yah kinda requ(h)irem(h)ent heh heh ((looks at Fen))
 139 (0.5)
 140 Yoko: [hm hm hm [hm ((nods))
 141 Fen: [hm yah [°requirement°=
 142 Kim: =yah:: ↓cause (0.5) you need to respond to others=
 143 Yoko: =hm::: ((looks at Kim, nods))
 144 (4.2)

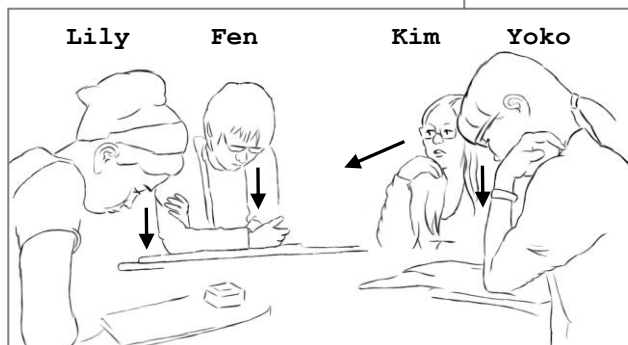
After watching the video task, Kim gazes toward Fen and describes a contrasting hypothetical situation (lines 129-131), where she receives no uptake from her recipients. When Kim comes to utter the final component of the *if*-clause, she gazes away from Fen and engages in a solitary word search (Goodwin and Goodwin, 1986). Fen, in line 134, keeps her gaze toward Kim and makes an entry into the ongoing

⁴⁵ Excerpt 6.24 occurs directly before Excerpt 6.9.

word search by providing the projected adjective *lonel(h)y* with a laughter token, showing her empathetic understanding of Kim's affective stance in the given setting. Kim immediately accepts the affective attribute and displays strong agreement by redirecting her gaze and pointing her right thumb toward Fen (line 135).⁴⁶ By giving the upshot *yah kinda requ(h)irem(h)ent* (line 138), Kim describes recipient uptake as necessary in interaction. After receiving acknowledgement and affiliation from Yoko and Fen (lines 140-141), Kim uses the generic pronoun *you* to highlight the importance of responding to each other's contributions in interaction (line 142). In this segment, we can see that Kim transcends her positive assessment of the video task to reflect on a completely different situation, one where reciprocity is at stake. By describing herself as *lonely* in this particular situation, Kim deploys her affect display to emphasize how important it is for recipients to show their engagement with listener responses (such as the use of *yah* and *un-huh* in the video task). In fact, earlier in the group discussion, Kim experienced some difficulty eliciting uptake from the recipients. Consider the following three excerpts.

6.10 CG1T1 [4:14-4:20]

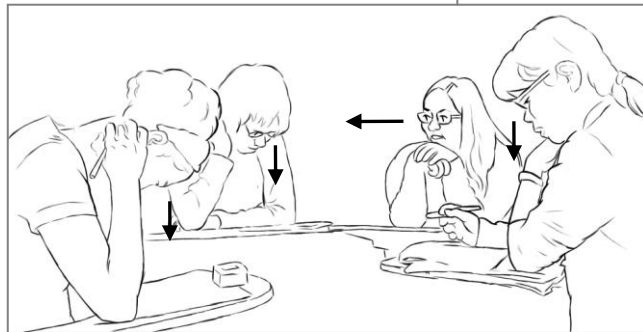
- 66 (0.3)
 67 → Kim: yah I think (.) tha::t is ↑all; ((looks up))
 68 (0.7)
 69 → Kim: is there anything else? ((looks at Fen and Lily))
 70 (1.4) ((Fen, Lily and Yoko look down))
 71 Yoko: hm::: ((nods))
 72 (1.6)



⁴⁶ Kim's vocal and visual display of affiliation corresponds to the analysis in Chapter 4.

6.11 CG1T2 [15:03-15:19]

79 (3.4)
 80 Kim: okay an:::d (1.0) number two, uh::: ((looks down))
 81 (1.5)
 82 → Kim: is there any (1.6) ↑act(h)i(h)on? ((looks down and to Lily))
 83 → (1.5) (Kim looks at Yoko))
 84 Fen: uhç ((looks down))
 85 → (6.0) ((Kim looks at Fen. Fen, Yoko, and Lily look down))
 86 Kim: I::: (1.6) (for the action) I dunno



6.12 CG1T3 [26:40-26:46]

61 → Kim: any idea:s? ((looks at Lily and Yoko))
 62 → (3.6) ((Kim shifts gaze between Lily and Yoko.
 63 Lily looks up and down. Yoko looks down.))
 64 → Kim: noç heh heh ((looks at Lily))
 65 (0.5) ((Yoko looks up))



Note that in these excerpts, Kim uses both gaze and questions to pursue co-participation from her recipients. Even though there is no evidence to suggest that Kim's reflection in Excerpt 6.6 arises from her previous experience in eliciting responses from her unengaged recipients, it is fair to say that Kim has dealt with the issue of reciprocity several times in this particular group discussion. In Excerpt 6.9, Kim can be heard orienting to her earlier unsuccessful pursuits of uptake from the other group members.

We will end this section with one final example in which one of the participants

vocalizes explicit affiliation with the video speakers.

6.13 CG1T4 [44:18-44:36]

159 Fen: so:: ((looks down))
160 (4.1) ((Kim looks at Fen))
161 Fen: hm:: yah I think done ((looks down))
162 (0.3) ((Fen sits back))
163 Kim: yah I think [that's it] heh [heh
164 Yoko: [hm::] [heh heh ((sits back))
165 Fen: =because we, (1.5) we all (.) [all learn from them and
166 [((LH palm up))
167 maybe kinda doing the similar things [so we are (0.5)
168 Kim: [hm:
169 Fen: in the similar situation. ((looks down))
170 Yoko: hm-mm ((nods))
171 (4.4)

From lines 159 to 164, the participants are bringing the group discussion to a close as indicated in their gaze, talk, and change in posture. With her gaze down, Fen begins another turn with a restart and pause (line 165). When Fen says *all learn from them*, she moves her left hand, palm up, outwards and directs her recipients toward her transcript. The way Fen performs this gesture denotes that the pronoun *them* in line 165 refers to the video speakers. By using the first person plural *we* (line 165) and the adjective *similar* twice (lines 167 and 169), Fen emphasizes the similarity, in terms of pragmatic practice (*similar things*) and situational context (*similar situation*), between the actual ESL students' group interaction shown in the video and her everyday classroom discussions. Because of the immediate accessibility of the situational context in which all the disagreement sequences reside, Fen is able to relate to the video students and affiliate with their pragmatic actions.

In this section, we have examined instances in which the participants utilize their understanding of the rich contextual information made available by the authentic

assessment materials to display their affiliation with the video speakers' pragmatic practices. As this section's analysis has demonstrated, when employing such authentic materials, the participants may shift their footing and perceive the focal action from a different perspective; use the focal actions' contextual information to challenge a co-participant's opinion; reflect on a situation that is totally different from the discourse context; and come to appreciate the similarity between themselves and the students participating in the video tasks. As a result of their affiliative understanding, the participants are able to relate to the displayed pragmatic action and reflect on their own practices in similar or even different speech settings.

In the next section, we will turn our attention to cases in which the participants make a comparison among different disagreement practices and select one practice that they believe is appropriate and effective.

6.5.2. Comparing Disagreement Practices

Thomas (1983) notes that pragmatics is different from grammar because its principles are not prescriptive, but normative. For language teachers, the priority of pragmatic instruction is therefore not to zealously enforce target language norms, but "to give the learner the knowledge to make an informed choice and allow her/him the freedom to flout pragmatic conventions" (Thomas, 1983, p. 110). A number of researchers have also argued that learners' willingness to converge with or diverge from a community's conventional L2 pragmatics is oftentimes a deliberate choice, shaped by their position in the L2 community and their attitude toward that community's L2 pragmatic practices (Norton, 2000; Peirce, 1995; Siegal, 1996). What the L2 classroom should afford L2 learners, then, is an environment that encourages them to explore their pragmatic options, reflect on their communicative experiences, and make informed decisions about their L2 use (Bardovi-Harlig & Mahan-Taylor, 2003; Kasper, 1997; Thomas, 1983). In this section, we will observe how the

authentic data provides the participants not only with the opportunity to make a comparison across different ESL students' disagreement practices, but also with the freedom to make pragmatic choices that are consistent with their values. Consider the collaborative work in Excerpts 6.14 and 6.15. Before the interaction in Excerpt 6.14, the group had reached the consensus that the disagreement practice in the current video task is better than that in the previous one.

6.14 P2T3 [28:07-28:26]

166 (1.3)
 167 Alam: in term of what. ((looks at Eri))
 168 (0.5)
 169 Alam: better in term of what. ((looks at Eri))
 170 (0.7)
 171 Alam: in [what ((looks at Eri))
 172 Eri: [better:: (0.5) uh:: (0.3) delivery or
 173 [°how could I say° ((looks at Alam))
 174 Alam: [hm:: ((looks at Eri, nods))
 175 (0.4) ((Eri looks at Alam and moves BHs clockwise))
 176 Eri: hm::[: ((looks at Alam))
 177 Alam: [the way how they express their ideas= ((looks at Eri))
 178 Eri: =ye::s [their- ((looks at Alam, nods))
 179 Alam: [how they <explains>= ((looks at Eri))
 180 Eri: =and listening the other's= ((looks at Alam))
 181 Alam: =↑yah::= ((looks at Eri))
 182 Eri: = opinion= ((looks at Alam))
 183 Alam: =appreciating the[:
 184 Eri: [yah:: [(this) way ((looks at Alam, nods))
 185 Alam: [other's opinion ((looks at Hiro))
 186 Hiro: [((turns TS to previous page))

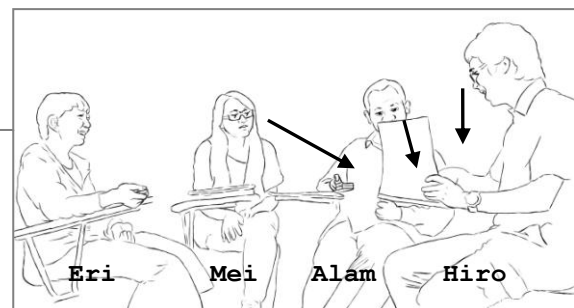
After the pause in line 166, Alam directs his gaze to Eri and asks why the disagreement in the current video task is *better* (line 167). By virtue of the subsequent silence (line 168), Alam sharpens the focus of his question by rephrasing it (line 169). After identifying delivery as one of the features that contributes to a better

disagreement (line 172), Eri uses the connective *or* to indicate that her turn is still in progress. However, the turn is suspended as Eri explicitly accounts for her inability to access the projected item (line 173). With his gaze toward Eri, Alam utilizes Eri's talk and gesture (line 175) as projective resources to provide anticipatory completions (Lerner, 1991, 1996, 2004) (lines 177 and 179) that fit into Eri's unfolding utterance. While Eri uses an *and*-prefaced turn (lines 180 and 182) to advance the unfolding course of action, Alam builds another turn (lines 183 and 185) that clarifies Eri's preceding turn. How Eri and Alam latch their turns and anchor their contributions to each other's talk show their collaborative effort in identifying elements that constitute the current disagreement as *better*. Alongside Eri and Alam's joint work, Hiro gazes down and flips to the previous page in his transcript (line 186), visually displaying his co-participation in comparing the two different disagreement practices. His embodied engagement becomes clearer in the subsequent interaction.

6.15 P2T3 [28:26-28:52]

187 Eri: [hm::
 188 Hiro: [yah [you remember the first guy hhh hhh=
 189 [((moves RH forward, looks at Eri))
 190 Eri: = >\$yah[yah\$< ((looks at Hiro, nods))
 191 Alam: [hm
 192 Hiro: [he's talking about the::

193 [(1.5) ((looks down))
 194 [((Alam and Mei look at
 195 Hiro's TS.
 196 Hiro looks at Eri and
 197 taps his TS))



198 Eri: Ken? ((looks down at TS))
 199 (0.3)
 200 Hiro: YAH:= ((looks down, places RH on the previous page))
 201 Eri: =hm:: ((looks at Hiro, nods))
 202 (2.0) ((Hiro quickly moves RH forward, leans forward))
 203 Eri: [he's]
 204 Hiro: [he- he] is just (0.3) ((looks away))
 205 Eri: he is just yah:: ((looks at Hiro, nods))
 206 (0.3)
 207 Hiro: not accepting other's opinion.= ((looks at Alam))
 208 Eri: =hm::[: ((looks down, nods))
 209 Alam: [YAH ↓yah ((looks at Hiro and Eri))
 210 Hiro: heh heh heh heh [heh
 211 Alam: [yah
 212 (.) ((Mei nods))
 213 Alam: it seem (0.3) that he is the best. ((looks at Eri))
 214 (0.5)
 215 Alam: he has the best opinion yahç= ((looks at Eri))
 216 Eri: =b(h)est [opinion ((looks at Alam, smiles))
 217 Alam: [yah [so he doesn't accept the other [one
 218 Hiro: [HEH HEH [heh heh ((looks down))
 219 Mei: [((smiles))
 220 Eri: [heh heh [maybe
 221 (.) worst listener. ((looks at Alam))
 222 (.)

Alongside his gaze and gesture toward Eri, Hiro uses a “you remember x” construction, otherwise known as a “reminiscence recognition solicit” (Lerner, 1992, 2002) to invite Eri’s recognition of the reference, *the first guy* (line 188). Upon receiving the requested recognition from Eri (line 190), Hiro gazes down and places his right hand on the previous page of the transcript while elaborating the reference (line 192). However, Hiro suspends his turn and a sizeable pause develops as he engages in a solitary word search (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986). During the pause, Mei and Alam direct their gaze toward Hiro’s transcript. Hiro, meanwhile, establishes

mutual gaze with Eri and then taps his transcript to invite her attention to it as a meaningful part of his emerging description. Therefore, the silence in line 193 is not empty, but occupied by the recipients' embodied engagement in Hiro's ongoing comparative analysis. Eri demonstrates her understanding of Hiro's action by bringing her gaze down and proffering a name for the referent, *Ken?*, in a try-marked intonation (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979). As a result of Hiro's explicit acknowledgement (line 200), the intersubjectivity between Hiro and Eri is upgraded (Stivers, 2007) and the interaction shifts from describing what makes the current disagreement better (Excerpt 6.14) to what makes the previous one worse.

In line 207, Hiro breaks the silence and completes his preceding talk (line 204) by describing Ken as *not accepting other's opinion*. Alam first shows explicit agreement with Hiro's description (line 209) and later upgrades his agreement with the superlative assessment adjective *best* (lines 213 and 215). Alam's statement immediately invites collaborative laughter from the other three co-participants (lines 216 and 218-220), which overlaps his verbal tying with what Hiro had said (line 217). Building on Hiro and Alam's preceding talk, Eri uses the extreme case formulation (Edwards, 2000; Pomerantz, 1986) *worst listener* (line 221) to escalate her affiliation with Hiro and Alam's analysis.

In sum, the interactions in Excerpts 6.14 and 6.15 demonstrate the participants' vocal and visual engagement in analyzing the differences between two disagreement practices and accomplishing the comparative analysis as a collaborative action. Most importantly, the analysis creates opportunities for the participants to reflect on what went right and what went wrong in the disagreement sequences. The following segment from the same group discussion also showcases this point.

6.16 P2T4 [8:02-8:33]

173 (4.1)
 174 Alam: so do you think is:: (0.6) which one is better,
 175 this:: (0.6) uh:: discussion model ((looks down))
 176 or the previous [model ((looks at Eri))
 177 Eri: [uh:::
 178 (0.5)
 179 Alam: the cell phone discussion [or:: ((looks at Eri))
 180 Eri: [hm:: ((looks at Alam))
 181 (0.6) ((Alam looks down))
 182 Alam: uh[::: ((looks down at TS, flips to previous page))
 183 Mei: [the:: third [task. ((looks at Alam))
 184 Hiro: [I think the previous one is= ((looks at Mei))
 185 Mei: =yah ((looks at Hiro))
 186 (0.3)
 187 Hiro: [much better ((looks at Mei, nods))
 188 Alam: [the third one= ((looks at Hiro))
 189 Eri: =yah[:: ((looks at Hiro, nods))
 190 Mei: [yah[::
 191 Alam: [yah [↑well it is (0.6) ((looks at Hiro))
 192 Mei: [°the third task° ((looks down))
 193 Alam: better (0.5) organized (0.4) than this right? ((looks at Hiro))
 194 Hiro: yah:: because the:: (1.1) chance to speak up [is
 195 Alam: [hm
 196 Hiro: was (0.4) [evenly ((looks at Alam))
 197 Alam: [equally ((looks at Hiro))
 198 (0.4)
 199 Eri: yah [evenly ((looks at Hiro, nods))
 200 Hiro: [divided so in [each [each one ((looks at Eri))
 201 Alam: [hm [::
 202 Eri: [equally ((looks at Hiro))
 203 (0.5)

Alam's question (lines 174-176) invites the participants to compare the current disagreement practice with the previous one. When the references for both video tasks become clear, Hiro initiates his answer to the comparison (line 184). Before Hiro can complete his answer, Mei offers her and initiates mutual gaze between her and Hiro

(line 185). Keeping his gaze toward Mei, Hiro produces head nods while completing his prior talk with the upgraded assessment *much better* (line 187). After Mei and Hiro establish their shared stance that the previous task was better than the current one, Alam proceeds to evaluate the previous disagreement as more organized (lines 191 and 193). Hiro then uses a causal extension to elaborate and support Alam's proffered evaluation (lines 194 and 196). Hiro and Alam's mutual gaze and co-production of concurrent assessments (lines 196-197) demonstrate their convergent understanding of the talk-in-progress and their affiliative stance on viewing equal participation as crucial to a good disagreeing response. This point is well-received by Eri, as evidenced by her repeating their assessment terms *equally* in line 199 and *evenly* in line 202. In this sequence, we can see that by comparing different disagreement practices, the participants do not simply identify one practice as *better* than the other, but also uncover the reasons that contribute to their pragmatic decision.

Excerpts 6.17 and 6.18, which occur consecutively, present similar cases in which participants identify elements that define an effective disagreeing response. Prior to Excerpt 6.17, Aki and Choi positively assessed the disagreement shown in the video they had just watched. We join the segment as Leo displays his affiliation with their proffered assessment by initiating a comparison among the video tasks.

6.17 CG2T4 [40:51-41:11]

69 (1.4)
70 Leo: ◦yah◦ ((looks at Choi))
71 (0.4)
72 Leo: ◦I-◦ [(2.8) the speakers' stratis- (.)
73 Choi: [((looks at Leo, moves LH toward Leo))
74 Leo: strategies are:: getting better. ((looks down))
75 (0.5)
76 Aki: yah[::
77 Choi: [heh [heh heh ((looks at Leo))

78 Leo: [heh heh ((looks down, flips to previous page))
 79 Choi: ya(h)h heh heh
 80 Aki: I (.) [↑think
 81 Choi: [yah
 82 Aki: uh:: this discussion is the: most mature [(0.3)
 83 Dong: [((nods))
 84 Aki: discussion ((looks at Dong))
 85 Choi: [yah:: yah[:
 86 Dong: [((nods))
 87 Aki: [compare to other ↓discussio[ns
 88 Choi: [yah[:
 89 Leo: [o(h)h:: yah
 90 (0.5)
 91 Choi: ↓yah:::
 92 (1.4)

In lines 72 and 74, Leo points out that the video speakers' strategies of disagreeing are getting better, which receives affiliation and laughter from Aki and Choi (lines 76-79). Aki then asserts her strong affiliation with Leo by upgrading the assessment from *better* to *most mature* (line 82) and emphasizes the outcome as relative to the previous video tasks (line 87). It is evident from the participants' subsequent visual (head nods) and vocal actions (agreement and realization tokens) (lines 83-91) that they collectively view the current disagreement as the best one they have seen so far. By virtue of the group's shared stance, in the following interaction, Aki continues to determine why the current pragmatic practice is distinguishable from the previous ones.

6.18 CG2T4 [41:11-41:33]

93 Choi: °uh:::°
 94 (1.5)
 95 Aki: and everybody is very ca::lm, ((looks at Leo))
 96 (0.3)
 97 Choi: yah↑:: ya(h)h he[h heh heh ((looks at Aki))

98 Aki: [heh h[eh h[eh
 99 Leo: [hhh [hhh
 100 Choi: [yah::=
 101 Leo: =eh .hhh =
 102 Aki: =[and [they [try to [state their [opinion [logically,
 103 Choi: [yah
 104 Leo: [heh [heh
 105 Choi: [yah [yah [yah [yah
 106 Aki: <and ex[planation is uh::] goo:d>=
 107 Choi: [↓yah yah yah::]
 108 = [hm:: ((looks down))
 109 Dong: [((nods))
 110 (0.4)
 111 Choi: there are ↑no no ((looks down, directs LH at TS))
 112 (0.4) ((Choi points LIF at TS. Dong
 113 and Aki look at Choi's TS))
 114 Choi: yah¿= ((points LIF at TS))
 115 Aki: =↑yah:: [each person's speak are so [long::
 116 Choi: [there's no no((points LIF)) [yah
 117 (0.6)
 118 Choi: just yah::↑affirmative.((looks down))
 119 (0.7)

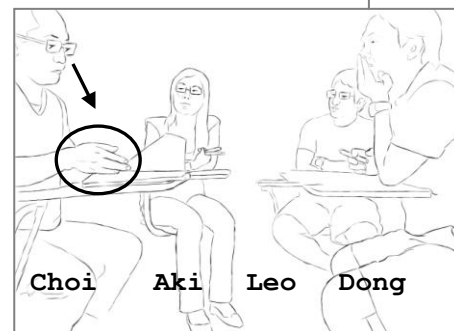
In this segment, Aki employs three *and*-prefaced turns (lines 95, 102, and 106) to indicate her orientation toward a coherent course of action (Heritage & Sorjonen, 1994), that is, an elaboration on the previously proffered assessment. During the intervening turns, Choi and Leo's collaborative laughter and multiple agreement tokens show their affiliation with the features that Aki has identified for the current disagreement (peaceful discussion climate, logical opinion, and good explanation). Aside from Aki's contribution to the comparative analysis, Choi brings his gaze down, directs his left hand toward the transcript, and argues that the negative token *no*, which is present in the previous episodes, is absent in the current one (line 111). During the subsequent pause, Choi points at his transcript, indicating that he continues

to treat the transcript as a relevant part of his ongoing analysis. And indeed, Aki and Dong shift their gazes to Choi's transcript and attend to it as a meaningful part of the interaction (lines 112-113). After Aki's confirmation and further elaboration (line 115), Choi formulates the current disagreement as *↑affirmative* (line 118) in the sense that the video speakers acknowledge rather than directly reject each other's opinion.

In the previous two excerpts, we observed how the participants launch a comparison across the video tasks. Through their comparison, the participants reflect on what they saw in the video, what elements differentiate the disagreement practices, and how the participants arrive at their pragmatic choices. The reflection becomes even more pronounced in the following instance, as one participant, Choi, remains engaged in discovering reasons that demonstrate why the disagreement they just watched is the most effective. This instance takes place several turns after Excerpts 6.17 and 6.18.

6.19 CG2T4 [43:34-44:01]

261 (0.5)
 262 Choi: so interesting I think [(0.9) because the (0.3)
 263 [(looks down at TS))
 264 strategy different (.) [from (0.5)
 265 Aki: [hm-huh
 266 Choi: it's a (0.7) very (.) ((flips to previous pages))
 267 Aki: pre[vious discussion ((looks at Choi))
 268 Choi: [<gradually [↑gradually> (.) better right?=
 269 [((looks at Aki, moves RH up))



270 Aki: =[hm]-huh= ((looks at Choi, nods))

271 Dong: [yah] ((looks at Choi))
 272 Choi: =so .s:: (.) it's uh (0.4) ah what's the reason
 273 (0.5)
 274 Choi: yah¿= ((looks at Aki))
 275 Aki: =heh hhh ((looks at Choi))
 276 (0.4)
 277 Choi: it's uh (0.7) because of (.) the the ↑problem
 278 of the [<topic>? or the problem of [the <language>? =
 279 [((looks at Leo)) [((looks at Aki))
 280 Aki: =hm-huh=
 281 Choi: =the problem of the <skill>? ((looks at Dong))
 282 (0.4)
 283 Dong: [yah ((nods))
 284 Choi: [yah discussion skill like [that ((looks at Leo))
 285 Aki: [yah:: ((looks at Choi))
 286 (0.7)
 287 Choi: so:: what's the reason ((looks at Aki))
 288 (0.5)

In line 262, Choi uses the positive assessment *so interesting* to describe the group's continuous effort to figure out what characteristics differentiate the current disagreement from the previous ones. Halfway into his talk, Choi gazes down at his transcript, flips through it with his left hand, and suspends his turn (lines 262-264). As Choi begins his turn again in line 266, he continues his embodied engagement in a solitary word search (i.e., gaze withdrawal, flipping through pages). Aki keeps her gaze on Choi as she produces the candidate item *previous discussion* (line 267), which fits into Choi's suspended turn in line 264 and shows her orientation to Choi's unfolding contrastive analysis. Simultaneously, Choi shifts his gaze to Aki and moves his right hand slowly upwards while producing the assessment <*gradually* ↑*gradually*> (.) *better* (line 268) with slow speed, prosodic emphasis, and a high pitch. The way Choi's gesture visually formulates the assessment makes visible the progressive improvement of the video group discussions. Thus, the semantic content

of his assessment, its vocal production (repetition, intonation, pause, and speed), and his co-occurring embodied performance mutually elaborate each other in such a way that depicts the recognizable improvement of the discussions. After receiving acknowledgement from Aki and Dong (lines 270-271), Choi prefaces the upshot with a hesitant prosody (pauses and inbreaths of the *s* sound) and then produces it in a performative manner *ah what's the reason* (line 272), expressing the reflection he is engaged in. When no response is forthcoming, Choi, with question intonation, slow speed, and prosodic emphasis, lists all the reasons (discussion topic, language, and discussion skills) that the group has identified as contributing to the improvement of the video group discussions. As he goes through each reason, Choi also moves his gaze from one recipient to another throughout his talk (lines 277, 278, and 281). In doing so, he vocally and visually engages all recipients in his reflective process, orients their previous contributions, and recognizes their current participation as relevant to the activity in progress. In line 287, Choi restates the question *so:: what's the reason* to reinforce not only his pursuit of the answer, but also his reflection, which was made possible by the group's collaborative analysis of the assessment materials.

So far, we have examined cases wherein the participants engage in critically analyzing the assessment materials and identifying features that define their pragmatic choices. In the following two excerpts, we will observe how the participants move beyond their contrastive analyses and articulate what they have learned from the assessment materials. Excerpt 6.20 comes after the participants have agreed that, in comparison to the previous disagreements, the current disagreement is more efficient.

6.20 CG4T4 [41:56-42:21]

146 (2.0)

147 Choi: hm:= ((looks down))

148 Aki: =yah:: [from this discussion, I learn it's ((looks down))
 149 Choi: [hm
 150 Aki: very important to:: [create a good atmosuphere
 151 Choi: [hm
 152 Aki: [to discussu] ((looks at Dong))
 153 Choi: [↑yeah::] right right right=
 154 Aki: = if a person (0.4) talk too mu[ch and the (0.4)
 155 Choi: [yeah:: ((looks at Aki))
 156 Aki: the discussion group will [be] (0.7)
 157 Choi: [yah]
 158 Aki: disrupted [or ↓something.
 159 Choi: [yeah:: ((looks down))
 160 (.)
 161 Choi: ↓yeah: ((looks down))
 162 (1.6)
 163 Choi: yah ((looks up))
 164 (.)
 165 Aki: or each member cannot (.) speak up,
 166 (0.3)
 167 Choi: ↑yeah ((looks down))
 168 (0.6)
 169 Choi: °right.°= ((looks down))
 170 Aki: =enough.
 171 (0.3) ((Aki looks at Leo, Leo nods))

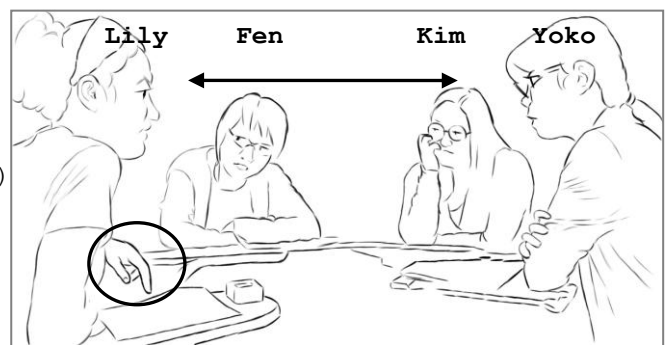
In this segment, Aki points out, based on her observations of the current video clip, that creating a good atmosphere is very important to a successful group discussion (lines 148, 150, and 152). Aki then describes a bad discussion atmosphere as one in which a participant talks too much, selfishly occupies the discussion floor (lines 154, 156, and 158), and leaves little chance for others to join the discussion (lines 165 and 170). Note that Aki's description corresponds to what the group has said about the previous video clips, where some participants dominated the discussion, resulting in unequal participation among members. By looking back at what went wrong in the previous tasks, Aki comes to appreciate what went right in the current

task and further identifies for herself a learning opportunity that has arisen out of the group's comparative talk. Another example follows.

Prior to the interaction introduced in Excerpt 6.21, the group had reached the consensus that Wen's disagreement, which they just watched in the video, is more effective than the ones previously viewed.

6.21 CG1T3 [28:28-28:52]

125 (0.5)
 126 Lily: when you do a discussions (0.5) so: (0.4) like
 127 (1.1) if this is:: (.) more:: [(1.1)
 128 [(looks down))
 129 Fen: ac[ceptable= ((looks at Lily))
 130 Lily: [if-
 131 =yah accep[table and ((looks at Fen))
 132 Yoko: [°hm hm yes° ((looks at Fen, nods))
 133 (3.3)
 134 Kim: ↓yah ri[:ght
 135 Lily: [so we should (.) LEAR:N (0.3) ((looks at Fen))
 136 Fen: >learn from her?<= ((smiles, looks at Lily))
 137 Lily: =learn [from her ((looks at Fen))
 138 Fen: [yah
 139 (0.3)
 140 Yoko: [(nods, looks at Lily))
 141 Kim: [yah ((nods))
 142 Lily: [and:: (.) just (0.7)
 143 Yoko: hm::
 144 Lily: uh prevent doing the same thing ((looks at Fen))
 145 with[:: ((points LIF at TS, looks at Yoko))
 146 Yoko: [°yes° ((looks at Lily))
 147 Lily: Helen heh [heh ((looks at Yoko))
 148 Fen: [heh heh [heh heh heh heh heh
 149 Lily: [during the [discussion]
 150 Yoko: [I agree] agree
 151 with you [uh ((points RIF, looks at Lily, nods))



The lengthening intensifier *more::* and the following 1.1-second pause (line 127), along with Lily's gaze withdrawal (line 128), suggest that Lily has problems producing the next projected item. Moreover, Lily's use of the comparative form *more::* indicates that she is comparing Wen's disagreement in relation to other disagreement practices that the group has seen so far. Fen breaks the silence by delivering the assessment term *acceptable* (line 129), which fits the syntactic structure of Lily's talk in progress. In line 131, Lily immediately accepts Fen's turn completion. After a rather long silence (line 133), Lily proffers the upshot of her assessment in line 135, but halts the turn after uttering the verb with enhanced volume. Fen, again, makes an entry into Lily's unfolding talk with the verb phrase *learn from her?* (line 136), spoken with rising intonation. Lily's subsequent repetition serves to confirm Fen's precise understanding of the projected upshot. Note that Lily uses the first person plural *we* (line 135) to underscore the upshot as shared among the participants. Since the group has agreed that Wen's disagreement is more effective and acceptable, her practice is, in Lily's opinion, what they should learn from. In response, the recipients all agree with Lily's statement (lines 138, 140 and 141). Lily's *and*-prefaced turn in line 142 invokes a connection with the prior talk (Heritage & Sorjonen, 1994). By placing a stronger emphasis on the verb *prevent* (line 144), Lily emphasizes the emerging target of comparison as different from Wen's action. When Lily utters the preposition with sound stretches *with::* (line 145), she points her left index finger at her transcript and orients to it as locally relevant to the next item. In mutual gaze with Yoko, Lily then delivers the projected next item, *Helen*, followed by laughter (line 147). Fen's laughing and Yoko's explicit agreement (lines 148, 150, and 151) clearly show their affiliation with Lily's comparison of Wen and Helen's pragmatic actions. What Lily and her recipients collaboratively accomplish in this excerpt goes beyond comparative talk, as they choose one particular performance to learn from.

In this section, we have observed how the participants draw comparisons across disagreement practices, critically analyze the assessment materials, and reflect on their pragmatic choices. All these actions are achieved collaboratively as the participants make public their comparative analyses and open up opportunities for co-participation in the ongoing analysis. By giving accounts to support their pragmatic choices, the participants are engaged in discovering what renders a particular disagreeing response as *more acceptable* and how they arrive at that particular decision.

Moreover, the reflection process empowers the participants as language learners because they are given the freedom to identify features that constitute an appropriate and effective pragmatic action. Some participants even transcend the reflection and locate learning opportunities for themselves. In this regard, learning is truly autonomous. As demonstrated, the authentic interactions in the assessment material provide conspicuous advantages in that they furnish the participants with the opportunity to encounter different pragmatic options, reflect on the differences that reside in these options, and eventually opt for practices that correspond to their beliefs and values. The way the L2 participants used the assessment materials concurs with Kasper's (1997) conclusion that, to help L2 learners become effective communicators, the L2 classroom should aim to encourage learners to experiment with different pragmatic choices and reflect on their stances toward them.

6.5.3. Attending to Vocal and Nonvocal Resources

The assessment materials used for this study give the participants full visual access to how disagreement is realized visually and vocally in natural interaction. By virtue of the multimodal character of the assessment materials, this section focuses on how the participants attend to the interactional details provided by the video footage of authentic video data and what they accomplish by observing such interactions.

Describing vocal and nonvocal actions

We will first consider cases in which the participants describe the video speakers' vocal or nonvocal conduct. This section's analysis underscores the participants' close attention to the interactional resources used by the video speakers and preserved by the assessment materials. Excerpt 6.22 is a case in point. It presents an instance wherein one participant, Ann, makes an observation about how the video speakers utilize mutual gaze.

6.22 P1T5 [4:23-4:56]

57 (1.5)
58 Ann: but when (0.4) when one person (.) is talking others
59 like (.)
60 Ting: °list[en° ((looks at Ann))
61 Ann: [concen- really concentrate, the two others are
62 really concentrate (0.4) on what (0.9) that person is
63 talking, like looking at (0.9) that specific person.
64 (1.1)
65 Ann: and then they didn't get um (1.7) disrupted by the
66 (0.3) o- by other noise.
67 (1.3) ((Ting nods))
68 Ting: hm::
69 (0.9)
70 Ting: so everyone has their (0.9) everyone express their
71 opinion they have chance to do it yah;
72 [°if they have° okay.
73 Ann: [hm:: ((nods))
74 (1.8)

After a sizable pause (line 57), Ann initiates another topic in lines 58 and 59. When Ann's talk is suspended, Ting utters the soft-spoken verb °*listen*° (line 60), which is compatible with the projection provided by the developing syntactic structure of Ann's preceding talk. After the overlapped talk is resolved, Ann restarts her turn beginning and continues her prior talk (lines 61-63). Ann points out that, in

the video clip, the two recipients kept their gazes toward the speaker to display their attentiveness. Ann adds another turn, saying that the group was really engaged in the interaction, regardless of the surrounding noise (lines 65-66). Following her vocal and visual display of acknowledgement (lines 67-68), Ting supplies the upshot of Ann's prior talk by suggesting that the video participants appeared to have an equal chance to speak up (lines 70-71). Ann immediately shows her agreement with Ting's upshot (line 73). Within this discussion, Ann has oriented to gaze direction as an indicator of one's engagement in group discussion. Ann's observation then leads to Ting's positive opinion on the video group's participation framework.

While Excerpt 6.22 illustrates the participants' description of the video speaker's nonvocal conduct, the next two excerpts exemplify the participants' attention toward the video speaker's vocal conduct in disagreement. Prior to the segment introduced in Excerpt 6.23, Rafi made a positive assessment on Amy and Brad's disagreement. The segment begins as Erda responds to Rafi's assessment by identifying one verbal feature that is not present in Amy and Brad's disagreement.

6.23 CG3T4 [14:56-15:09]

176 (4.1) ((Erda smiles, looks down at TS))
 177 Erda: no no no (.) no no ((points RIF at TS))
 178 Rafi: heh heh [heh heh ((looks at TS))
 179 Erda: [no big no no [in th(h)i- this discussion
 180 [((points RIF at TS))
 181 Rafi: [yah YOU CANNOT FIND there
 182 are big no no [no no heh heh heh ((looks down))
 183 Erda: [heh heh heh heh ((looks at Rafi))
 184 Hana: [hm:: ((smiles, looks down))
 185 Erda: not a big [no no
 186 Rafi: [heh heh
 187 (0.7)

During the substantial pause in line 176, Erda has her gaze down at her transcript

while the corners of her lips go slightly upwards and a gentile smile emerges. The facial expression visually proposes a noticing of something that is relevant to the transcript. Indeed, when Erda begins her turn in line 177, she points her right index finger at the transcript and asserts that the negative token *no* is not present in Amy and Brad's disagreement. Rafi's immediate laughter (line 178) exhibits his understanding of what Erda has noticed. In overlap with Rafi's laughter, Erda maintains her pointing gesture when she upgrades her assertion with the adjective *big* (line 179), indexing the current disagreement as everything but overt negation. When Erda's utterance becomes accessible, Rafi displays his explicit agreement by reformulating Erda's talk (lines 181-182), resulting in their mutual laughter (lines 182-183). At the same time, Hana smiles while showing her acknowledgement (line 184). In this segment, Erda demonstrates recognition of what is absent in Amy and Brad's vocal conduct during their disagreement so as to affiliate with Rafi's proffered assessment. Let us consider one more example.

In Excerpt 6.24, Kim notices the video speaker's use of the acknowledgement token *yah* and continuer *uh-huh* in the disagreement sequence. The segment comes right before Excerpt 6.9, where Kim stresses the importance of response tokens in interaction.

6.24 CG1T4 [42:23-43:12]

86 (2.4) ((all look down at TS))
87 Kim: yah THERE is a LOT of um:: (0.6) YAH:: .hhh= ((looks down))
88 Fen: =HEH [HEH heh heh
89 Kim: [heh heh heh [r(h)i(h)ght; ((looks at Lily and down))
90 Yoko: [heh heh
91 Kim: .hhh yah during (.) the:: people (0.6) speak
92 something, (0.3) ((looks down))
93 Yoko: hm-huh=
94 Kim: = yah:: (0.6) there['s a ((looks down))

95 Fen: [heh heh
 96 Kim: yah:: (.) uh-huh, yah:: (.) >something yah so< it means
 97 they agree with that s::: uh speech= ((looks at Lily and Fen))
 98 Fen: =[hm-huh=
 99 Yoko: [((nods))
 100 Kim: =and then uh::: (2.0) it show:: that (0.7) ((looks down))
 101 >YAH it show that< (.) they LISTEN (0.4) ((looks at Lily))
 102 [>what are< (.)what (0.3)
 103 Lily: [((nods))
 104 Fen: °the° = ((looks at Kim))
 105 Kim: =uh:: [the people say] right¿= ((looks at Fen and Lily))
 106 Fen: [<people>] ((looks at Kim))
 107 =yah=
 108 Kim: =so:: (0.8) that's uh::: (0.7) >yah kind of< (0.3)
 109 it makes uh kind of good [discussion.= ((looks at Lily))
 110 [((nods))
 111 Lily: =[((looks at Kim, nods))
 112 Yoko: [hm-[huh ((nods deeply))
 113 Fen: [° yah °
 114 Yoko: hm::[: ((nods))
 115 Fen: [° okay °
 116 (0.3)
 117 Kim: °I think so.° =
 118 Fen: =at least their attitude is positive. ((looks at Kim))
 119 (0.3) ((Fen and Kim look at each other))
 120 Kim: ↑oh= ((looks at Fen, nods))
 121 Yoko: =hm hm [hm ((looks at Fen, nods))
 122 Fen: [yah:¿=
 123 Kim: =right.= ((looks at Fen))
 124 Fen: = ° cause they::: ° (0.3) [↑they will kinda] respond
 125 Kim: [.hhh yah right]
 126 Fen: to [others= ((looks at Kim))
 127 Kim: [((looks at Fen, points RHT at Fen))
 128 Kim: =heh heh [heh heh ((looks at Fen))
 129 Yoko: [hm-huh=

In line 87, Kim raises her voice when she points out that the video speakers used the acknowledgement token *yah* several times during the interaction. This leads to

collaborative laughter among Fen, Kim, and Yoko (lines 88-90). Kim further describes that when one person was talking, others responded with *yah* or *uh-huh* to show their agreement with the speaker (lines 91-92, 94, lines 96-97). Kim's subsequent *and*-prefaced turn is filled with perturbations and accompanied by gazing downward (line 100), making visible her engagement in a word search (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986). When Kim finally produces the result of her search, she brings her gaze to Lily and articulates the verb *LISTEN* with enhanced volume (line 101). It becomes apparent that Kim views the recipients' use of *yah* and *un-huh* as a way of showing affiliation and hearership. After a joint turn construction between Fen and Kim (lines 104-106), Kim produces a *so*-prefaced upshot to make evident her positive assessment of the prior description (lines 108-109). As her turn comes to an end, Kim provides head nods and gazes toward Lily (line 110), thus visually eliciting co-participation from her (Heath, 1992). After Lily and Yoko vocally and visually claim their understanding of Kim's assessment (lines 111, 112, and 114), Fen demonstrates her affiliation with Kim by evaluating the recipients' attitude as *positive* (line 118), which draws Kim and Yoko's agreement (lines 120, 121, and 123). Fen then employs a causal extension to elaborate her assessment, saying that the listener responses are mobilized by the recipients in a way that shows their reciprocity (lines 124 and 126). Kim's immediate pointing gesture, gaze, and laughter (lines 127-128) illustrate her heightened affiliation with Fen.

In this excerpt, we can see that Kim and Fen attend to the critical role that receipt tokens play in displaying reciprocity and creating a positive discussion climate, especially in the midst of a disagreement sequence. By describing how receipt tokens were used in the video, Kim and Fen emphasize the active work that the recipients were able to perform. The assessment materials thus draw the participants' attention not simply to the speaker's actions alone, but also to the recipients' actions in shaping

the interaction.

The instances examined in this section focus on the participants' description of the video speakers' vocal and nonvocal conduct to index the positions they take toward the examined disagreement sequence. In the next section, we will observe how the participants move from describing to animating the video speakers' vocal and nonvocal actions and thereby demonstrate their engagement in the details presented by the authentic materials.

Animating vocal and nonvocal actions

Regarding the concept of footing, Goffman (1981) defines the animator as “the sounding box,” describing it as “the talking machine, a body engaged in acoustic activity, or, if you will, an individual active in the role of utterance production” (p. 144). In this section, we will examine cases in which the participants animate and selectively reproduce the video speaker's vocal and/or nonvocal actions, and in doing so, perform their stances as well as demonstrate how their assessments should be understood. In this regard, the interactional details contained in the naturally occurring data are utilized as a resource to *show* rather than simply describe the participants' stances toward the phenomena being assessed. Consider, for example, the following interaction.

Prior to Excerpt 6.25, the group noted that participation in the video group's discussion was not equal because one member, Joe⁴⁷, was left out of the discussion. In the interaction below, Ann elaborates on the group's observation and animates Joe's gesture.

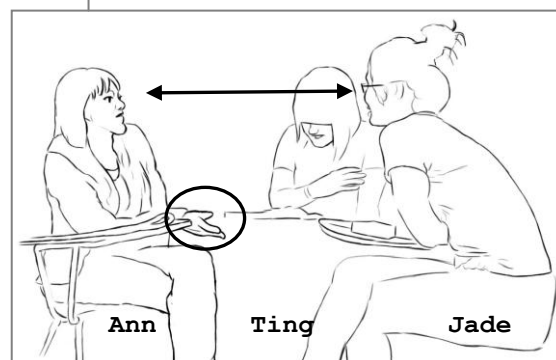
6.25 P1T4 [27:44-28:16]

93 (2.0)

94 Ann: like (4.2) like (0.4) ↑Jon:ɜ when Jon points (.) his

⁴⁷ In Excerpt 6.25, Ann mispronounces “Joe” as “Jon” (lines 94-96).

95 left hand toward Ben, (0.5) and I think (0.6) Jon want
 96 to <get out of the conv(h)er[s(h)ation> ((looks at Jade))
 97 Jade: [hhh HAH [HAH .hh[hh
 98 Ting: [oh::
 99 Ann: [it's like
 100 [YOU go, you go, you talk
 101 [((moves RH forward, looks at Jade and Ting))
 102 (0.5)
 103 Ann: [something like that.
 104 Ting: [oh:: >yah yah< ((nods))
 105 (0.7)
 106 Jade: oh:: ((nods))
 107 (0.6)
 108 Ting: °yah:: it's a °
 109 (3.2)
 110 Ann: that's a sign of getting out of the [convers(h)at(h)ion.
 111 Jade: [.hhh heh heh heh
 112 [heh heh heh
 113 Ting: [>hm-huh hm-huh<
 114 (0.4)



Ann describes Joe's gesture toward Ben as a signal of Joe's departure from the group's conversation (lines 94-96). When Ann's following description becomes predictable, Jade bursts into laughter at the earliest moment, thus demonstrating her understanding of Ann's emerging talk. Ting also produces a realization marker to indicate her resultant change of knowledge state. Ann proceeds to animate Joe's gesture while acting out the meaning that it conveys (lines 99-101). By saying *YOU go, you go, you talk* while momentarily directing her right hand and gaze toward Jade, Ann shifts her footing from one who describes the gesture to one who performs it. In doing so, Ann not only contextualizes her prior talk, but also enables the recipients to visualize how Joe ceded the floor to Ben and withdrew from the interaction. Ting and Jade orient to Ann's performance as informative by responding with lengthened change-of-state tokens and head nods (lines 104 and 106). After a rather long gap of

silence, Ann restates the meaning behind Joe's gesture, which again invites a string of laughter from Jade (lines 111-112). The precise way in which Ann interprets and performs her understanding of Joe's gesture indicates Ann's orientation toward his nonvocal conduct as locally relevant to his diminished engagement in the interaction.

While Excerpt 6.25 illustrates the participant's attention to the speaker's nonvocal conduct, the following five excerpts present cases in which the participants animate the speaker's vocal conduct so as to justify or project their assessments on the focal action. Let us first consider how a reenactment⁴⁸ is used to justify one's stance.

6.26 CG3T1 [7:17-7:35]

134 (0.5)
 135 Erda: also it seems that Helen has very (0.4) uh:: stro-
 136 (0.3)strong[:: disagreement ((looks at Hana))
 137 Hana: [((looks at Erda, nods))
 138 (1.0)
 139 Erda: in [this discussion. ((directs RH at TS, looks at Hana))
 140 Hana: [((nods))
 141 (0.7)
 142 Erda: and the way she said [NO:: ((looks at Hana))
 143 [((moves LH downwards rapidly))
 144 (0.3) ((Hana looks at Erda, nods))
 145 Rafi: heh heh [heh heh heh ((looks down))
 146 Erda: [NO is heh heh very STRONG to strongly
 147 disagree what uh:: Ken said. ((looks at Hana))
 148 (1.8) ((Hana nods))
 149 Erda: Ken's idea ((looks down))
 150 (1.2)

After Erda evaluates Helen's disagreement as *very strong*, (lines 135-139), Hana produces head nods (lines 137 and 140) to claim her understanding of Erda's assessment. Erda then animates Helen's overt disagreeing response *NO::* with

⁴⁸ In this study, reenactments are understood as the same as animations in that "they depict or show rather than describe" (Sidnell, 2006, p. 381).

enhanced volume and sound stretches while lifting her right hand above her right shoulder and immediately sweeping it downwards. Erda's reproduction of Helen's vocal behavior serves to recreate the force in Helen's direct negation and retroactively contextualize her prior assessment. Indeed, after receiving acknowledgement from Hana (line 144) and Rafi (line 145), Erda explicitly connects her reenactment to her proffered assessment (lines 146-147). The sequential development of Erda's talk shows that she attends closely to the voice quality of Helen's disagreement and utilizes it as a resource to strengthen her evaluation. Choi also notes the prosody in Helen's negation in the next excerpt.

The beginning of this interaction (lines 110-119) has been presented in Excerpt 6.18, and is now repeated below as Excerpt 6.27.

6.27 CG2T4 [41:27-41:50]

110 (0.4)
 111 Choi: there are ↑no no ((looks down, points LH at TS))
 112 (0.4) ((Choi points LIF at TS. Dong
 113 and Aki look at Choi's TS))
 114 Choi: yah¿= ((points LIF at TS))
 115 Aki: =↑yah:: [each person's speak are so [long::
 116 Choi: [there's no no ((points LIF) [yah
 117 (0.6)
 118 Choi: just yah: ↑affirmative. ((looks down))
 119 (0.7)
 120 Choi: ↓yeah¿
 121 (1.1) ((Dong nods))
 122 Leo: >oh you mean there< [ARE (.) no¿ ((looks down))
 123 [((lifts his eyebrows))
 124 (0.8)
 125 Choi: °yah° ((looks at Leo))
 126 (.) ((Leo and Choi look at each other))
 127 Leo: there are (.) no¿ ((looks down, moves LH at TS))
 128 (0.3) ((Aki, Dong, and Choi look down))
 129 Choi: are no:¿ YEAH ((looks down, nods))

130 (0.5)
 131 Choi: they don't speak (.) ((looks down))
 132 Leo: yah
 133 (0.4)
 134 Choi: like: ↑no: no: like [this yeahꞤ ((looks at Leo))
 135 Leo: [.hhh heh heh heh
 136 [o(h) kay
 137 Choi: [yeah just uh (0.3) [just say (0.4)
 138 Aki: [heh heh
 139 Choi: yeah:: yea(h)h li(h)ke this. ((looks at Dong, nods))
 140 Leo: hm::
 141 (0.3)

In lines 111-116, Choi points out that Amy and Brad do not use any negative tokens to deliver their disagreement. Choi then evaluates their vocal behavior as *affirmative* (line 118). After a 1.1-second pause (line 121), Leo marks Choi's prior talk as noticeable as he precedes his confirmation request with the realization marker *oh* (line 122) and lifts his eyebrows to mark his noticing of Choi's observation. Prompted by the ensuing gap of silence in line 124 and Choi's softly spoken response in line 125, Leo momentarily establishes mutual gaze with Choi (line 126) and then restates his confirmation request while placing his left hand on his transcript (line 127). Leo's vocal and visual actions mutually elaborate one another in his pursuit of a response from Choi.

Acting upon what they see and hear, Aki, Dong, and Choi immediately bring their gazes down (line 128), demonstrating their active engagement in analyzing Amy and Brad's vocal conduct. Choi, gaze cast downwards, partially repeats Leo's request, followed by the loud-spoken confirming response *YEAH* with a head nod (line 129). Even though Leo's request is not grammatically and syntactically clear, Choi claims understanding and goes on to elaborate his answer (lines 131 and 134). Here, Choi gazes toward Leo when he animates the overt disagreement in an affectively loaded

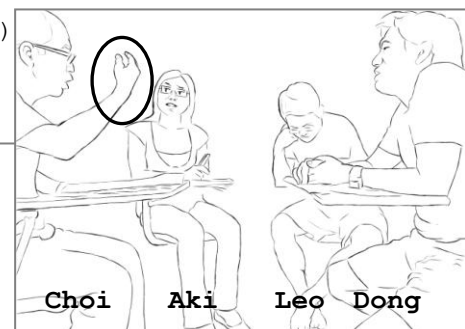
56 Choi: his or her own opinion=
 57 Aki: =uh-huh=
 58 Choi: =it's uh (0.3) <some people might \$wanna\$ say:> or=
 59 Aki: =hm-huh
 60 (.)
 61 Choi: <it is RI::GHT but I thi::nk> [like this way
 62 Aki: [hm-huh
 63 Choi: is a (0.4)very good strategy to express the (.)
 64 Leo: hm-huh=
 65 Choi: =opposite opinion. ((looks at Dong))
 66 (1.3)

With his gaze down at his transcript, Choi points out that Amy agreed with Brad's opinion before she disagreed (lines 40, 42-44, and 46). In line 48, Choi repeats what Amy said with noticeably slow speed and ends with the deictic term *like this* to frame the immediately preceding talk as a reenactment. Choi then uses a *so*-prefaced turn to articulate the upshot of his prior description and animation (lines 52, 54, and 56). With a smile, he proceeds to animate Brad (line 58) and Amy's talk (line 61) again with a slow pace, sound stretches, and prosodic emphasis, followed by another deictic term *like this way* (line 61). The markedly slow delivery of Choi's reproduction highlights the mitigation in Brad and Amy's disagreeing responses and projects his upcoming assessment as a favorable one. Indeed, in line 63, Choi proffers the upgraded positive assessment *very good stragey*. Therefore, through the precise way in which Choi animates Amy and Brad's talk, Choi justifies his description and gives the recipients clues to anticipate his subsequent assessment. In other words, Choi's positive assessment comes into interactional play prior to its actual production. Excerpt 6.26 presents a similar instance.

Prior to Excerpt 6.29, Dong said that Ken and Helen's disagreement stopped the interaction from moving forward. In the following segment, Choi continues the topic through a process of describing, animating, and evaluating Helen's disagreement.

6.29 CG2T1 [6:09-6:33]

150 (0.3)
 151 Choi: in additional, (0.3) that uh (0.3) HELEN (0.6) uh::
 152 (0.4) the:: (0.6) [ex- express her (0.6) negation
 153 [((classroom computer sound))
 154 (0.4) ((classroom computer sound))
 155 Choi: uh:: in the meantime of the (0.3) WHILE (0.4) that:
 156 while Ken's speaking
 157 (0.3)
 158 Aki: [↑ye::s]
 159 Choi: [in the] in the middle of the=
 160 Leo: =hm-mm=
 161 Aki: =[uh-huh]
 162 Choi: [uh::] TALKING],
 163 Dong: [oh::: yes]= ((looks at Choi, nods))
 164 Aki: =↑ye::s=
 165 Choi: =yah express the negation Helen =
 166 Aki: =yah=
 167 Choi: =like ↑no:::[like that, ((moves RH forward))
 168 [((looks at Dong))



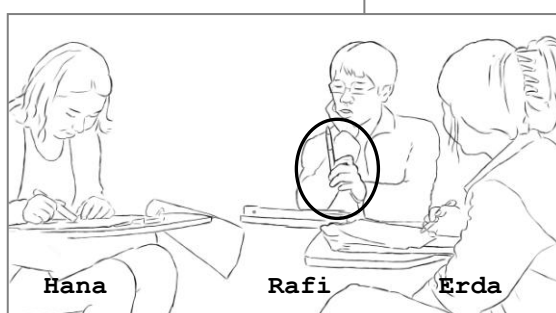
169 (0.5) ((Dong nods))
 170 Choi: is uh I think is uh:: a little (0.3) ru:de.
 171 (0.5) ((Dong nods))

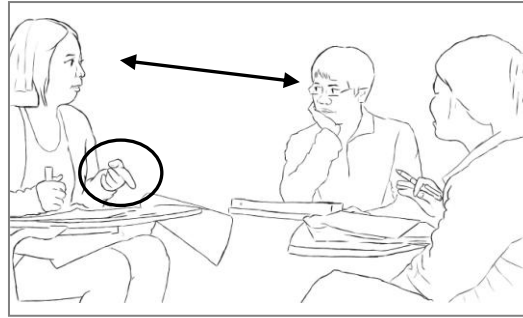
From lines 151 to 165, Choi points out that Helen delivers her disagreement while Ken's talk is still in progress. Notice that during his description, Choi places emphasis on all duration-related words, including *meantime* (line 155), *while* (line 156), *middle* (line 159), and produces *WHILE* (line 155), *TALKING* (line 162) with enhanced volume. By means of his prosodic emphasis, Choi highlights the way Helen's disagreement interrupts the interaction, which strongly projects a negative

assessment. In line 167, after uttering the deictic term *like*, Choi animates Helen's negative token ↑*no*::: with enhanced intonation, lengthening, and a high pitch. Likewise, his vocal production is accompanied by his right hand swinging outwards with the palm facing upwards. Choi's manner of delivery stands in contrast with his slow delivery of Amy and Brad's disagreement in the previous excerpt. The affective loading of Choi's talk and his illustrative gesture reinforce each other in constructing a disagreement that is aggressive and unmitigated. Choi then comments on his prior description and reproduction of Helen's disagreement with the negative assessment *ru:de* (line 170). In this instance, Choi vocally animates Helen's negation to retroactively contextualize his preceding description and enhance the projectability of his upcoming assessment. By selectively reproducing how the disagreeing response was spoken, Choi makes visible his stance toward the evaluated event and alerts the recipients to *hear* his assessment in a particular way before its actual production. This point is well illustrated in the next interaction, which involves the recipients proffering assessments on the speaker's animated talk and thus demonstrating how the reenactment is heard and understood.

6.30 CG3T1 [9:12-9:42]

206 (0.4)
 207 Rafi: so::: (.) we also talked about number three, we will
 208 not do the same thing, l(h)ike hhh heh
 209 heh [heh ((looks at Hana))
 210 Erda: [.hhh .hhh ((looks at Hana))
 211 Rafi: [like when we're (.)when in this discussion, (0.4)
 212 we just simply say [NO::
 213 [((pushes pen in LH outwards))





214 (0.5)

215 Erda: ↑ah::[:: ((looks at Rafi, nods))

216 Rafi: [°no:::~::~° (.) because no like (0.4) can be

217 one hundred percent wrong:: ((looks at Hana))

218 (.) ((Hana nods))

219 Erda: [yah yah ((looks at Hana))

220 Hana: [hm:: >YOU ARE WRONG<= ((nods, looks at Rafi, points LIF))

221 Erda: =too strong, very strong= ((looks at Hana))

222 Hana: = [yah:: ((looks at Erda, nods))

223 Rafi: [very [strong ((looks front))

224 Erda: [when you say no= ((looks at Hana, pushes RH out))

225 Rafi: =yah it's kinda [very straight to that the::: the person

226 Erda: [I agree.

227 Rafi: okay he's wrong: (0.8) but (0.8) yah [like you sai::d

228 (0.9) it's just (0.6) different point of view right?

229 (0.3)

230 Rafi: there's no like (0.4) right or wrong and I'm right.=

231 Hana: =hm::: ((looks down, nods))

After answering the discussion question as a group (lines 207-209), Rafi animates Helen's negative response with loud volume and sound stretches *NO::* (line 212), while pushing the pen in his left hand outwards. His gesture and co-occurring talk elaborate each other to amplify the force of Helen's direct negation. Following Erda's realization display (line 215), Rafi softly repeats the animation with lengthening (line 216) and evaluates it with an extreme case formulation (Edwards, 2000; Pomerantz, 1986) *one hundred percent wrong::* (line 217) to justify the inappropriateness of using the negative token in disagreement. With her gaze toward Rafi, Hana displays her close attention to what Rafi has said by acting out a disagreeing response that occasions Rafi's assessment. The prosody, speed, word

choice, and pointing gesture in her enactment *YOU ARE WRONG* (line 220) vocally and visually contextualizes Rafi's preceding animation and assessment. In response, Erda gazes toward Hana and immediately provides two assessments with intensifiers *too strong*, *very strong* (line 221) to demonstrate what Hana's enactment has projected. Subsequently, in line 222, Hana straightforwardly agrees, while Rafi uses repetition to index his affiliative stance (line 223). In line 227, Rafi employs peer-referencing *like you sai::d* (Waring, 2001) and points the pen in his left hand toward Hana to indicate the assessment as a co-constructed one.⁴⁹ As a result, Hana shifts her gaze to Rafi and produces a series of head nods to indicate her agreement with his reformulation of her prior talk (lines 229 and 231). In this case, we can see that Rafi's animated talk not only projects his negative assessment, but also provides the basis for Hana and Erda to organize their relevant participation and display their mutual orientation toward Rafi's assessment talk.

So far, we have examined how the participants selectively reproduce the video speakers' vocal actions to show rather than just describe their assessments on the pragmatic practice. Note that in Excerpts 6.26, 6.29, and 6.30, the participants accompany their reenactment of Helen's direct negation *no* with recognizably different gestures. This concurs with Sidnell's (2005) observation that by producing different gestures for the same descriptor, participants display some independent knowledge of the event under discussion. Likewise, the participants in the preceding excerpts visually claim their independent access to or epistemic authority toward the phenomenon being animated. Next, we will turn to cases in which the participants animate not only vocal actions, but also the accompanying nonvocal actions of the video speakers to demonstrate their orientation toward disagreement as a multimodal

⁴⁹ In her analysis of group discussions in a graduate seminar, Waring (2001) describes the linguistic practice "as/like you said" as peer-referencing. By referring back to another's opinion, one displays affiliation while "turning an otherwise independent argument into a co-constructed one" (p. 35).

interactional achievement.

6.31 CG2T1 [4:32-4:47]

74 (4.2)

75 Dong: ↓I (0.3) I I remember their action is (0.9) li::ke

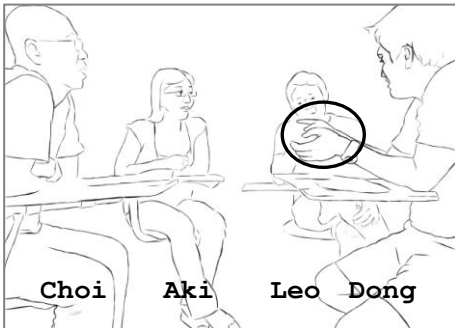
76 (0.5) the gesture; ((looks at Leo))


77 (0.6)

78 Leo: °yah°

79 Dong: the man (1.0) named Ken, (1.0) uh:: (0.5) when he said

80 the no; (0.4) his gesture is the [(1.7)

81  [((points RIF upwards,
points RIF to Aki))]

82 

83 the:: the finger (0.5)

84 Leo: point;= ((looks at Dong))

85 Dong: =in [yah point to her] ((looks at Leo))

86 Aki: [pointed to] ↓her= ((looks at Dong))

87 Leo: = °oh no oh no° = [((points RIF))]

88 Dong: =↑oh:: (0.5) that's why [I said

89 [((points RIF to chest))]

90 (1.1)

After supplying a name to the person reference (line 79), Dong moves on to describe the gesture that accompanies Ken's use of the disagreeing response *no*. However, his description is not completed and a noticeable gap of silence develops (line 80). During this silence, Dong directs his left index finger toward the ceiling, then drops the gesture, and finally points it toward Aki. Considering the sequential location of the pointing gesture, Dong's animation of Ken's gesture is similar to an embodied completion (Mori & Hayashi, 2006; Olsher, 2004; see also Chapter 2), allowing the recipients to visualize Ken's nonvocal conduct in disagreeing with Helen.

When Dong ceases his talk again (line 83), Leo produces the verb *point*_i (line 84). This response fits into the projection provided by Dong's unfolding talk and dialogic embodied action (Arnold, 2012). Leo's proffered item not only receives Dong's acceptance, but also allows Dong to complete his prior description (line 85). Leo then integrates the complete negation *no* with a pointing gesture (line 87), which resonates with Dong's prior reenactment. In doing so, both Dong and Leo orient to Ken's hand movements as a relevant part of his direct disagreement with Helen. As this excerpt illustrates, the nonvocal information made available by the assessment materials enables Dong and his recipients to view the pragmatic practice as a multimodal achievement, where vocal and visual conduct is synthesized to build a joint action. In Excerpt 6.32, Dong continues to describe, evaluate, and animate Helen's gesture.

6.32 CG2T1 [5:03-5:51]

100 Dong: [and then Helen gestures (0.8) the (1.4) uh:: she::
 101 (1.1) she want to:: (0.3) say it (0.6) the:: (0.3)
 102 mo::re (0.8)uh::: (0.5) something to refuse his
 103 opinion,=
 104 Aki =uh-huh ((nods, looks at Dong))
 105 (0.5)
 106 Dong: she (0.4) s::: (0.3) she (.) since:: she actions
 107 feels:: to me, ((looks toward ceiling))
 108 Choi: °hm-huh° ((looks at Dong))
 109 (0.3)
 110 Dong: like the: angry? ((looks at Aki))
 111 (0.4)
 112 Choi: ah::: ((looks at Dong))
 113 Leo: hhh ((looks at Dong))
 114 Aki: eh [heh heh heh ((looks at Dong))
 115 Choi: [ah yah yah yah ((looks at Dong))
 116 Dong: the for: (0.3) Ken's opinion.
 117 Choi: hm::=
 118 Aki: =[uh-huh
 119 Dong: [it's not (0.6) the transforma[tion,

120 Aki: [YAH ((looks at Dong))
 121 Dong: trans:: transexion- sexualism is not (0.7) uh::
 122 problem of:: the education.
 123 Choi: uh-huh= ((looks at Dong))
 124 Dong: =in family. = ((looks at Choi))
 125 Choi: =uh-[huh ((looks at Dong))
 126 Aki: [ye::s= ((looks at Dong))
 127 Dong: = she is the (0.3) no no no:: = ((moves fists up and down))
 128 Choi: =[yah]:: ((looks at Dong))
 129 Aki: [yah] ((nods))
 130 Choi: yah::= ((looks at Dong))
 131 Dong: =[((moves fists up and down))
 132 Aki: [she seem to be::: [refute the [Ken's opinion [totally]
 133 [((sits back, pushes BHs outwards))
 134 Choi: [hm
 135 Dong: [↑yah]
 136 yah= ((looks at Aki, nods))
 137 Choi: =↓yah
 138 (0.6)

Dong's description of Helen's disagreement (lines 100-107) is filled with speech perturbations (sound stretches, pauses, and restarts), indicating his trouble in formulating the next item in his ongoing talk. When Dong finally delivers the assessment term *angry* (line 110), the recipients respond with realization markers, laughter, and agreement tokens (lines 112-115). Dong proceeds to summarize Helen's opinion on transsexualism (lines 119, 121, 122, and 124) and animate her disagreement vocally and visually (line 127). With his elbows resting on his desk, Dong moves both fists slightly upwards and downwards three times, in rhythm with the three syllables of the co-occurring talk *no no no::*. Even though Dong's hand movements do not correspond to what Helen actually does when she utters the negative token, it resembles Helen's up-and-down hand movements when she interrupts Ken. Therefore, Dong's gesture is designed so that it is seen as a

meaningful part of Helen's disagreement sequence and also serves to justify his assessment that Helen was *angry*. In response, Choi and Aki immediately claim their agreement with Dong's animated telling (lines 128-130). When Dong repeats the gesture (line 131), Aki simultaneously demonstrates her understanding of Dong's reenactment by saying that Helen appeared to completely deny Ken's opinion (line 132). When Aki utters the verb *refute* with prosodic emphasis, she leans back, lifts her hands to her chest, and repetitively pushes both hands, palms slightly downwards, out until the end of the turn. In parallel with Dong's embodied action, here, Aki also vocally and visually formulates Helen's resistance to Ken's opinion.

As shown in the preceding two excerpts, Dong's reproduction of Ken and Helen's vocal and nonvocal actions suggests that he attends to disagreement as a multimodal practice and uses its multimodal production as a resource to show rather than merely describe his stance toward the disagreement being evaluated. Recipients can also use such resources to organize their relevant participation. Consider, for instance, the following excerpt. The segment presents a case in which the recipient animates the disagreeing response vocally and visually to contextualize and support the prior speakers' assessments.

6.33 P2T1 [6:55-7:22]


167 (0.9)
 168 Alam: he is kind of opinionated person, opinionated
 169 mean [(.) try to: (0.4) ((looks at Eri))
 170 Eri: [((looks at Alam, palm down, moves LH horizontally))
 171 Eri: control
 172 (0.4)
 173 Eri: or [(0.3)
 174 [((looks at Alam, palm down, moves LH horizontally))
 175 Alam: YAH:: make other people agree with [her at things =
 176 Eri: [yah:
 177 =dominant ((looks at Alam))

178 Alam: yah [try to]:::

179 Eri: [heh hhh]

180 Hiro: °like° [(0.3) it's- it it's important °right° ¿=

181 [((points RIF, looks at Eri and Alam))



182 Eri: =[yah:: it's important ((points LIF, looks at Hiro))

183 Alam: [yah <it is important>] ((points LIF, looks front))

184 Hiro: [heh heh heh hahaha]= ((looks down))

185 Alam: =WITH the capital [letters I mean here ((looks at Eri and down))

186 Eri: [hm::

187 (0.5)

188 Alam: yah with the high stress and (0.6) in a:: higher (0.3)

189 sound, I mean [(0.7) uh:: (0.3) [sound louder= ((looks at Eri))

190 Eri: [((nods)) [hm

191 =[yah[::

192 Mei: [((nods))

193 Alam: [yah

194 (0.3)

Alam first makes the assessment that Ken's disagreement characterizes him as an *opinionated person* (line 168) and moves on to explain his assessment term (line 169). Before Alam provides his explanation, Eri moves her left hand horizontally with the palm facing downwards (line 170) to visually demonstrate her understanding of his evaluation. The pause at the end of Alam's turn in line 169 provides Eri with the opportunity to complete Alam's turn with the verb *control* (line 171). Eri's reformulation of Alam's assessment fits into Alam's utterance-in-progress, but also makes her previous embodied display transparent. Prompted by Alam's lack of uptake (line 172), Eri initiates an *or*-prefaced turn, followed by a short pause (line 173) and

repeats her previous gesture (line 174). Eri's gesture emerges as a practice of embodied completion (Mori & Hayashi, 2006; Olsher, 2004), suggesting that the lexical affiliate is parallel to her use of the word *control*. In line 175, Alam claims his understanding of Eri's embodied display and continues to complete his preceding turn. Eri promptly claims her agreement (line 176) and reformulates Alam's description with the assessment term *dominant* (line 177). In line 178, Alam again accepts Eri's revision of his assessment. By means of vocal and visual resources, Eri and Alam jointly advance their interactional work and display to each other their congruent understanding of Ken's disagreement.

In line 180, after uttering a soft-spoken deictic term, Hiro gazes toward Eri and, during the intraturn pause, points his right index finger toward her as a pre-positioned gesture (Schegloff, 1984). Then, as he utters the gesture's vocal counterpart with false starts, he shifts his gaze to Alam. Basically, what Hiro does in line 180 is reproduce Ken's pointing gesture and the accompanying utterance *it's important*. This reproduction works to contextualize Alam and Eri's proffered assessments while showing affiliation with their stances. In what follows, Eri and Alam simultaneously acknowledge Hiro's reenactment and reproduce Ken's gesture-talk ensemble (lines 182-183). It is evident from their verbal and gestural synchrony (Lerner, 2002) that all three participants have attended to Ken's vocal as well as nonvocal conduct and used them as resources to justify their assessments. Following the reenactment, Alam goes on to describe how Ken's talk (*it's IMPORTANT.*) is presented in the transcript (line 185) and how it was actually spoken (loud volume) (lines 188-189). Eri and Mei then vocally and visually claim their affiliation with Alam's description (lines 190-192). In this group interaction, we can see that the participants draw on the public resources (talk, gesture, and intonation) made available by the natural classroom interaction to strengthen their negative stance toward Ken's pragmatic performance. As with the

previous excerpts, the analysis shows that the participants orient to the speaker's visual conduct as a constitutive part of the pragmatic action, thereby illustrating that such nonvocal action should not be segregated from its vocal counterpart.

In this section, we have observed cases in which the participants reproduce the speaker's vocal and/or nonvocal conduct to justify, project, and demonstrate their assessments toward the pragmatic practice. What is significant about the participants' reenactments is not whether their verbal or nonverbal tying is identical to the video speakers' actions, but rather that their reenactments are designed to be heard and seen as the same. It shows that the participants not only orient to the multimodal performance of the pragmatic practice, but also deploy it as a resource to contextualize their assessments. The reenactments clearly illustrate the participants' sensitivity toward how disagreement is delivered vocally and visually, and thereby underscores the affordances provided by having full visual access to the fine details that manifest the focal action.

6.6. Summary

In this chapter, we have examined the various ways in which the participants demonstrate their attention toward the explicit interactional details made available by the authentic assessment materials. The analysis shows that the participants effectively use their visual access to the materials as a powerful resource to construct their position toward the phenomenon being evaluated: they may draw on the materials' rich contextual information to engage in similar or opposite situational contexts, reflect on their own pragmatic performances, and develop an affiliative understanding of the pragmatic practices shown in the video; compare different pragmatic practices, make informed decisions regarding their pragmatic options, and even search for reasons that contribute to their choices; and monitor the vocal and

visual conduct surrounding the focal action and utilize their observations to justify, project, and perform their assessments toward the pragmatic practice. Using recordings of real interaction as assessment materials, therefore, bear clear pedagogical value in engaging L2 speakers in real-time disagreement sequences, generating critical reflections on their pragmatic practices and decisions, and bringing to their attention the multimodal character of disagreement.

Another issue that merits attention is that using recordings of classroom interaction with real-life consequences allows the L2 speakers in this study to immediately “engage authentically, without simulation” (Stokoe, 2011, p. 139) with the situations presented in the assessment task. Even though the L2 speakers’ are not trained CA analysts, they naturally attend to the fine details preserved in the authentic data and recognize how vocal and visual practices work together to produce a coherent course of action. In addition, the analysis empirically documents the L2 speakers’ positive responses to the naturally occurring classroom data as they relate to the participating students in the video and identify learning opportunities for themselves. This suggests that L2 speakers do not necessarily need CA training to analyze authentic interaction and work with CA-informed materials (Huth & Taleghani-Nikazm, 2006).⁵⁰ Therefore, CA-based materials can serve as a valuable source for language teaching professionals and material developers to incorporate real-time conversation into instructional interventions (Antaki, 2011b).

⁵⁰ Huth and Taleghani-Nikazm, (2006) also report that the beginning level L2 learners in their study are able to work with CA-based materials as the learners “naturally grasp the significance behind the temporally unfolding of sequences just by looking at them” (p. 73).

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

7.1. Introduction

This study sets out to investigate English L2 speakers' pragmatic assessments in interaction and CA's applicability in pedagogic intervention. Throughout the previous chapters, I have described the embodied and concerted production of assessments, the social organization of interactional noticing, and the affordances provided by authentic assessment materials. In this final chapter, I will briefly summarize the discussions from the previous chapters. Then, I will address the implications the main findings may have on research regarding speech acts in interaction, pragmatic instruction, and materials development. Finally, I will suggest possible future research directions for CA, L2 interaction, and L2 pragmatics.

7.2. Summary of the Chapters

In Chapter 1, I stated the objectives of this study and situated the contributions that this study aims to make in the field of applied linguistics and L2 studies.

In Chapter 2, I discussed some of the key analytical principles in CA that guided my analysis of the L2 speakers' assessments in interaction. I highlighted the importance of investigating L2 interactions from a multimodal perspective. Subsequently, I presented the rationale for studying disagreement, the learning object, as action in sequences, and assessment, the pedagogical method, as an interactive activity. This chapter concluded with a presentation of the following research questions:

1. How do the participants coordinate vocal and nonvocal behaviors to construct their stances and organize their participation in the provided

multiparty collaborative assessment activity?

2. What are the specific ways through which the participants register disagreement as noticeable and worthy of their attention in interaction?
3. What are the pedagogical advantages of employing authentic materials of disagreement sequences as objects of assessment for the participants' small group discussion? Do the participants attend to the organizational features of disagreement sequences? How can CA findings contribute to L2 pragmatic instruction?

Moving on to the study's data and method, in Chapter 3, I described the research context, the data collection procedures, the research participants, and the analytical and transcription process adopted for this study. Additionally, how I identified the analytical focus and built collections of the focal phenomena were discussed.

Chapter 4 is the first chapter of data analysis, and in this chapter I investigated the relationship between participants' stance displays and their embodied actions, with special attention paid to their gaze direction in the delivery of agreement and disagreement as well as in the pursuit of agreement. In the analysis, I showed that while recipients tended to gaze at and establish mutual gaze with the prior speaker for preferred responses, they regularly withdrew gaze from and delayed mutual gaze with the prior speaker for dispreferred ones. I also showed that, in addition to gaze aversion, other forms of visible conduct, such as head nods, gestures, and body orientation, were kept to a minimum in dispreferred action. Thus, the systematic differences in the visual phenomena of preferred and dispreferred responses were demonstrably consistent with those in the vocal performance of such responses. I argued that the observation affords us an encompassing view of how participants synthesize diverse vocal and visual resources to construct stances in concert with others and, in doing so,

accomplish assessment as a collaborative multiparty and multimodal activity.

In Chapter 5, I built upon the multimodal sequential analysis of the assessments in Chapter 4 and discussed how noticing was made observable through participants' assessment actions. I began the chapter by reviewing intrapsychological and interpsychological approaches to cognition before examining the participants' precise ways of practicing interactional noticing. In the analysis, I considered cases in which assessment terms were used by the speaker at sequence opening to engage the recipients in the dynamic process of discovering what was noticeable in the disagreement sequence. I also examined cases in which the speaker restated the initial assessment term at sequence closing to enhance the noticeability of what had already been revealed in the preceding turns and, as a result, focus the recipients' attention on the speaker's stance toward the pragmatic action. Finally, I described instances in which participants registered a noticing of their divergent pragmatic assessments, negotiated their misalignment, and came to a shared understanding of the pragmatic action. This analysis supports the view that peer collaboration provides an interactive arena for participants to propose a noticing of each other's assessments as they organize relevant participation to ensure their assessments do not go unnoticed. How attention is socially distributed, interactionally negotiated, and locally mobilized among participants attests to the pedagogical value of using peer interaction for pragmatic assessment.

While the analyses in Chapters 4 and 5 were made possible by the method (i.e., multiparty assessment activity), in Chapter 6, I examined the advantages made available by the assessment materials. Reviewing previous literature on pragmatic instruction and assessment materials, I provided the rationale for using naturally occurring disagreement sequences as the object of assessment in this study. I then discussed three major advantages of using recordings and transcripts of real

interaction for the L2 speakers' pragmatic assessment activity. First, I showed that the naturally occurring data provided participants with rich materials to coordinate their stances vis-à-vis on another in the assessment activity. In particular, they drew on the contextual information to challenge co-participant's position, conduct a stance shift, and affiliate with the pragmatic practice shown on the video. In addition, I gave consideration to how the assessment materials empowered participants to transcend the assessment activity by reflecting on different disagreement practices and discovering what contributed to their pragmatic choices. Lastly, I demonstrated that participants utilized the interactional details afforded by the authentic materials to perform, foreshadow, and contextualize their stances toward the phenomena being assessed. How participants described and reproduced the video speakers' vocal and non-vocal conduct showed their sensitivity and orientation to the pragmatic practice as a multimodal achievement.

7.3. Implications of the Main Findings

As the first video-based CA study on pragmatic assessment in L2 interaction, this study advances L2 researchers' understanding of multimodality in L2 interaction. I have pointed out that much can be gained from examining the organization of social action both visually and vocally. Throughout the analysis chapters, I have presented evidence that participants demonstrably orient not only to vocal, but also to visual behaviors as constitutive and meaningful parts of social interaction. I also described a diversity of modalities (i.e., talk, gaze, gestures, body orientation, material objects) upon which the participants rely on in organizing participation, displaying engagement, and constructing stances in the assessment activity. For example, Aki's embodied action in Excerpt 4.10 demonstrates the critical role that gaze orientation plays in displaying disaffiliation. In Excerpt 5.5, Erda visually registers a noticing of

Hana's assessment through the changes in her body posture and facial expression. Also, in Excerpt 6.33, Hiro animates Ken's gesture and talk to contextualize his assessment of Ken's pragmatic action.

The analysis revealed that vocal and visual behaviors are public social phenomena that participants can see and act upon. To understand what participants treat as relevant in a situated activity, it is necessary for analysts to take into account participants' simultaneous use of vocal as well as nonvocal behaviors during interaction. For example, without the non-vocal information captured on the camcorder, Hiro's pause in Excerpt 6.15 might have been understood simply as Hiro's disfluency in speech, not as the group's embodied engagement in a joint activity. During the 1.5-second pause, the group uses gaze direction to display their collective engagement in Hiro's comparative talk, while Hiro establishes the assessable and focuses recipient attention through his gaze and a tapping gesture. Therefore, the pause is occupied with nonvocal actions that are locally relevant to the ongoing talk.

How the participants in this study assembled vocal and visual conduct to build a joint action raises important questions about how we conceptualize and analyze turns-at-talk. The issue is evidenced in the recipients' pre-positioned embodied action for agreement as a preferred response. In Chapter 4, I showed that speaker transitions and agreeing responses are prepared by the recipients' pointing gestures and gaze directions.⁵¹ The recipients' embodied actions in presequences serve as harbingers of affiliative stances and speakers transitions that are in the works before the agreement is vocalized at a prior turn's completion. The multimodal character of talk in interaction brings up the relevant questions of what a turn-at-talk is and when a turn begins. Inspired by Goodwin's (1996) concept of "unfolding horizon of future

⁵¹ See also Mortensen (2009) for a discussion on the different embodied resources used by L2 students to claim incipient speakership in classroom activities.

possibilities” (p. 372) in interaction, Hayashi (2005a) proposes that “turns may be more adequately conceptualized as a temporarily unfolding stream of multimodal conduct . . . through which the speaker and recipients build in concert with one another relevant actions that contribute to the further progression of the activity in progress” (p. 47-48). From a multimodal perspective, the prospective nature of embodied action (Streeck & Jordan, 2009) propels the course of action and challenges CA researchers’ understanding of turn-taking and transfer of speakership in conversation.⁵²

Another implication of the multimodal analysis used in this study is that reciprocity is not so much about passively receiving talk, but instead about demonstrating hearership through talk and embodied practice (Mortensen, 2009). The analysis of engagement display in Chapter 4 showed that recipients’ embodied actions (especially gaze direction) are critical to creating a common interactional space with the speaker as well as displaying readiness in entering or withdrawing from discussion. From a pedagogical standpoint, reciprocity illustrates, especially for those teaching listening in language classrooms, that it is important to emphasize that listening is to *display* one’s attention not only vocally (e.g., listener responses), but also visually (e.g., gaze, nodding, body movement). Oral participation in group discussion is just as important as embodied engagement. The data analyzed in this study can serve as exemplars to increase learners’ awareness of the interactional consequences of showing less than full engagement in peer activities (e.g., withdrawal from talk).

Treating noticing as a practical accomplishment, this study unraveled the concept and described noticing’s role in interaction at the empirical level. In contrast to non-interactive and individual assessment tasks, the peer interactions provided in this

⁵² See also Heath and Luff’s discussion (2012) on how visible conduct plays an important role in the organization of turn-taking and the coordination of opportunities to talk (p. 290-295).

study enable the participants to encounter assessments with others, which they can respond to and negotiate with. It is precisely through their engagement in the shared experience of the assessment activity that the participants jointly establish the noticeable elements of disagreement, attend to the gap between their pragmatic ideology and actual pragmatic action, and note the different perspectives in the disagreement sequences. The analysis, therefore, supports the recurrent results in observational studies on pragmatic instruction that learners' active collaboration in peer activities is beneficial to pragmatic learning (Kanagy, 1999; Ohta, 1995, 1999, 2001). By approaching instructional intervention from a socially grounded perspective, this study supplies a compelling rationale to combine interventional with observational research in order to fully understand the conditions needed for promoting noticing and the process through which noticing surfaces in L2 interaction.

Another crucial contribution of this study arises from the participants' positive responses to the authentic assessment materials. For instance, Fen in Excerpt 6.13, Aki in Excerpt 6.20, and Lily in Excerpt 6.21 move beyond their assessments on the disagreement sequences and create further learning opportunities for themselves. While Fen relates to the participating students featured in the video clips and emphasizes the common ground between them, Aki and Lily analyze the assessment materials critically and decide for themselves the effective way to engage in disagreement. The fact that the assessment materials derive from other ESL students' group interactions indicates that successful L2 interactions, not necessarily native speaker interactions, can serve as immediately relevant and accessible pragmatic models for L2 speakers.

Previous research on pragmatic assessments often compares learner outcomes to some native speaker baseline so as to investigate the factors underlying learners' nontargetlike production (e.g., Kitao, 1990; Koike, 1996; Olshtain & Blum-Kulka,

1985). This prevailing practice in interlanguage pragmatics treats native speaker models as the desirable learning goal and L2 speakers as deficient communicators, whose interactions are viewed as inevitably problematic (Firth & Wagner, 1997). However, the participants in this study are able to see the value in studying other ESL students' interactions and take advantage of the learning opportunities presented by these L2 interactions. This finding challenges the dominant native speaker benchmark as the only legitimate learning target and underscores the pedagogical benefit of using L2 speakers' interactions as a valid and relevant reference in pragmatic instruction.

The participants' engagement with the authentic materials leads us to acknowledge CA's capacity in making interventions in pragmatic instruction. In this study, I argued that, by utilizing CA findings as assessment materials, the participants were given the opportunity to engage in the details of how disagreement sequences unfolded verbally and visually in naturally occurring interactions. Their descriptions and reenactments of the video speakers' vocal as well as visual conduct clearly demonstrate their close attention to the multimodal achievement of disagreement. The participants obviously utilized their full visual access to the assessment materials to anchor their assessments with explicit information. Moreover, by presenting the participants with a range of disagreement deliveries (i.e., from unmitigated to mitigated disagreement), they were provided with a safe arena to examine the differences that reside in these pragmatic options, reflect on their pragmatic observations, trigger changes in their stances toward the focal action, and identify, in their own terms, an effective pragmatic practice. We saw that Choi in Excerpt 6.19 engages himself and his group members continuously in discovering the reasons that underlie the group's pragmatic choice. His prolonged reflection is indeed a form of autonomous learning. A case like this illuminates the value of employing CA findings to generate critical reflections on pragmatic performance.

7.4. Directions for Future Research

This study explored the range of interactional resources deployed during the participants' assessment activity, and demonstrated the ways in which the participants register their noticing of the stance constructed by co-participants. It also showed how the participants embraced the idea of working with the authentic materials by reflecting on their pragmatic assessments. By way of conclusion, I will discuss some promising areas of further inquiry that this study may open up.

First, as discussed in the previous section, how incipient speakership is visibly claimed prior to the proper turn beginning leads interaction researchers to reconsider the machinery of turn-taking in interaction. Schegloff (1987) notes that turn beginnings are “sequence-structurally important places in conversation” (p. 72) for the interactional work they accomplish and for the turn-shape they project (see also Hayashi, 2009; Heritage, 2002; Sidnell, 2007 on projectability of turn-initial objects). Sacks et al. (1974) describe a list of lexical and non-lexical elements used at turn beginnings (e.g., uh, well, but, and, so) as appositionals (p. 719). They point out that appositionals are important turn-entry resources for self-selecting next speakers to claim a turn-at-talk at the earliest moment. Likewise, pre-positioned embodied actions can be viewed as turn-entry devices that enable recipients to secure an even *earlier* start on the next speaking position without interrupting the turn in progress. This multimodal perspective adds fluidity to turn construction as points of possible turn beginning become less recognizable and more amorphous. More video-based research on how participants deploy vocal and visual resources to take a turn and transition to a next speaker will definitely add new understanding to the one-party-talks-at-a-time rule in conversation (Sacks et al., 1974).

Another interesting finding is that while the participants show sensitivity to the multimodal achievement of disagreement, they do not attend to some of the

organizational features of disagreement, such as gaps of silence (see Chapter 2 for more discussion on the disagreement features). We observed in Chapter 6 that the participants described and animated the semantic formula, prosody, gaze direction, interruption, pointing gestures, and hand movements that occurred in the disagreement sequences. Some forms of delay in disagreement were also discussed, including the use of weakly stated agreements (Excerpt 6.28) and mitigation (e.g., *I don't know* in Excerpts 4.13 and 4.14). However, temporal features, like pauses, were overlooked in their assessments. These observations point to the possibility that, from an L2 speaker's perspective, some organizational features are more salient or more directly associated with disagreement than others. For instance, in terms of temporal features, overlaps appear to be more noticeable than pauses. An important task for future research is to examine what causes the attention divide and what features might implicate disagreement more strongly than others to L2 speakers.

The data in this study documented the participants' engagement display in group discussions. A closer look at the data set shows that each group has its own character in managing its discussion. While some groups orient to the discussion as an interactive process, where opinions are put forward and elaborated, others appear to construct it in a monologic manner without "dialogically developing an opinion they can all agree on or argumentatively forging and defending a position" (Hauser, 2009, p. 239). A microanalysis of these discussion patterns may yield new insights on what elements contribute to an engaging discussion in ways that could encourage students' participation in class discussions.

The participants in this study are L2 English speakers from a wide range of first language backgrounds and English is used as a lingua franca in the assessment activity. Such interactions point to an interesting topic for further investigation, that is, L2 speakers' pragmatic practices in lingua franca talk. While much has been identified

in the exico-grammatical (Seidlhofer, 2001) and phonological features (Jenkins, 2000) of English as a lingua franca, less is known about the pragmatics involved in lingua franca interactions (House, 2009). As such, it will be worthwhile to examine the resources that are systematically and frequently used by L2 speakers in different speech act sequences. The findings can then be empirically checked against native speaker use, which would help identify the possible “let it pass procedure” (Firth, 1996), the pragmatic features that are different but not oriented to as interactionally consequential in lingua franca talk.

Lastly, I believe that more empirical work on how CA findings can be best applied to language teaching and pragmatic instruction is needed. This study has demonstrated the fruitful application of CA to pragmatic instruction. However, there is room for empirical investigations regarding the selection of authentic materials for learners at different levels of proficiency or for different social actions (e.g., initiating acts such as invitations and requests) and language foci. The three pilots conducted in this study showed that the recordings of natural interaction need to be selected in a principled manner. In other words, not every interaction is a viable resource for authentic materials. Indeed, several factors were considered in the data collection process, including quality and length of the recordings, the topics discussed, the language used, readability of transcriptions, and complexity of the situated contexts in which the focal action arose. However, it is unclear if more factors need to be considered for different kinds of lessons or for learners with lower proficiency levels. In addition, how learners will respond to materials collected from L2 interactions in a different context (e.g., professional settings, meetings outside classroom, other English learning programs) remains an unanswered empirical question. Other questions worth pursuing include how learners of different linguistic and cultural

backgrounds (e.g., English L2 speakers outside of Asia)⁵³ will evaluate the disagreement sequences and whether L2 learners with the same L1 will use different resources to display affiliation and disaffiliation with assessments.⁵⁴ We also need to find out how beginning L2 speakers participate in a similar kind of assessment activity. Answers to these inquiries will advance our understanding of CA's engagement with instructional activities and materials development.

⁵³ The participating L2 speakers in this study are all from Asian countries, including Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, Indonesia, and China (see Chapter 3 for participant information).

⁵⁴ For instance, Li Wei's (1995, 1998) studies on bilingual Chinese cross-generational family talk offer an interesting observation that Chinese speakers of English use code-switching to mark the dispreferred status of disagreement.

APPENDIX A: CONSENT FORM

Investigator: Tsui-Ping Cheng **Faculty Supervisor:** Dr. Gabriele Kasper
Department of Second Language Studies, University of Hawaii at Manoa
1890 East-West Road Honolulu, HI 96822 Phone: (808) 956-8610

Purpose of this Research

This study investigates how English language learners express their opinions in group discussion.

What You will be Expected to Do

If you agree to participate in this study, you will not be asked to do anything. An audio and video recording of your participation in class group discussion will be made. The estimated recording time is 25-30 minutes for each classroom observation.

Your Rights:

• Confidentiality

Any information that is obtained with this project and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. If personal names appear in the recordings, they will be replaced with pseudonyms in any transcripts of the recordings and any presentation of the research results. The recordings will be identified by number and the names of participants will not be used. The audio and video recordings *will be kept in a locked file in the investigator's office for the duration of the study*. Audio recordings will be destroyed after transcription and I will ask for your permission to use video recordings for specific purposes.

• To Ask Questions at Any Time

If you have any questions regarding this research project, please feel free to contact Tsui-Ping Cheng at (808)589-7247, or email tsuiping@hawaii.edu.

• To Withdraw at Any Time

You may withdraw from the study at any time, and you may require that your data be destroyed.

• To Keep the Consent Form

You will keep a copy of this consent form for your personal reference, and an extra copy will be provided to you for this purpose.

Benefits

The findings of this study will enable us to understand English language learners' developing pragmatic competence.

Possible Risks

To the researcher's knowledge, there is no potential risk or discomfort involved in the study.

Your consent to the release of audio, and/or video recordings

I would like you to indicate below what uses of these recordings you are willing to consent to. This is completely up to you. I will only use the recordings in ways that you agree to. In any case of these recordings, names will not be identified.

Only initial the uses that you agree to.

1. The recordings can be studied by the investigator for use in the research project.

Audio _____ Video _____ [Please use initials to **indicate your consent**]

2. The recordings can be used for scientific publications.

Audio _____ Video _____ [Please use initials to **indicate your consent**]

3. The recordings can be shown in public presentations to nonscientific groups.

Audio _____ Video* _____ [Please use initials to **indicate your consent**]

*If you agree to have your recordings shown in public, you have the option of having your face blurred.

_____ Yes, please blur my face.

_____ No, I don't need my face blurred.

Signature

I certify that I read and understand the above, that I have been given satisfactory answers to any questions about the research, and that I have been advised that I am free to withdraw my consent and to discontinue participation in the research at any time, without any prejudice or loss of benefits or compensation. I agree to be a part of this study with the understanding that such permission does not take away my rights, nor does it release the investigator or the institution from liability for negligence. If I cannot obtain satisfactory answers to my questions, or have comments or complaints about my participation in this study, I may contact: Committee on Human Studies (CHS), University of Hawaii, 1960 East-West Road Biomedical Building, Room B-104, Honolulu, HI 96822 Phone: (808) 956-5007. Email: uhirb@hawaii.edu

Name _____ [Printed]

Signature _____

Date ____/____/____

APPENDIX B: PILOT 1 & 2 TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS & TRANSCRIPT

Transcription symbols

1	Ken:	you know that, the failu-	first of all I think it is	- dash indicates a cut-off
2		a failure of education in the family		() parentheses indicates gap
3		(1.0)		(.) a dot mean a tiny gap
4	Hong:	educa[[bracket indicates overlap
5	Ken:	[responsi-	of course responsibility of your	
6		parents		
7	Hong:	is very imp[ortant		<u>Underlining</u> indicates stress
8	Ken:	OH [you-		:: colons indicate a prolonged sound
9	Hong:	[sometimes you can [()		CAPITAL indicates loud sounds
				empty parentheses indicates "not audible"
1		or she but she cannot control herself=		= equal signs indicate no gap
2	Ken:	=NO. it it- that's why I said that it's the		between two lines

Task 1: Failure of education

Leader: Wang Members: Ken, Ron, Hong

Discussion topic: Transsexualism

1 Ken: you know that, the failu- first of all I think it is
2 a failure of education in the family
3 (1.0)
4 Hong: educa[tion?
5 Ken: [responsi- of course responsibility of your parents
6 is very imp[ortant
7 Hong: [NO::
8 Ken: OH [you-
9 Hong: [sometimes you can [()
10 Ken: [first of all, yah yah I-I-will
11 tell you because you know that in the family you can
12 educate with your kids, you can give him see: (0.5) eh
13 for example, you can explain to him about this
14 transsexualism, about that about this and then he
15 will understand WHAT is this. and then in the future
16 [of course
17 Hong: [sometimes he or she know: that that- transsexual
18 can- cannot uh:: cannot uh[: (0.4) control herself
19 Ron: [if this situation happen to me
20 Hong: maybe your parent can advise and treat him (0.3)
21 or she but she cannot control herself=
22 Ken: =NO. it it- that's why I said that it's the
23 responsibility of the parents who have to educate
24 well your children, it's IMPORTANT.

Discussion topic: Transsexualism

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Task 3: Cloning

Leader: Ying Members: Kei, Wen

Discussion topic: Cloning

- 1 Ying: so: I want to know ((laughter)) what your thoughts
2 about cloning?
3 (5.0)
- 4 Kei: I'm also against (.) about cloning, and I was
5 actually um: writing essay about cloning before
- 6 Ying: really?
- 7 Kei: yah, so I researched some
- 8 Ying: wow ((laughter)) =
- 9 Kei: =yah, and I know Dolly died really in short life
- 10 Ying: yah
- 11 Kei: because of the disease, maybe she was easy to get disease
- 12 Ying: yah
- 13 Kei: compared to other, like regular animal, normal
- 14 sheeps
- 15 Ying: hm
- 16 Kei: yah like born naturally, yah. I think it
17 would also happen to human, it can be
18 happened to humans, right?
- 19 Ying: [hm
- 20 Kei: [if we do cloning and other animals too, so I
21 don't think it's good. and only for transplant,
22 it's pretty sad, you know.
- 23 Ying: ((laughter))
- 24 Kei: about like- they also have (.) even they are
25 cloned animals, humans, but they have, like,
26 human rights and animal rights and
27 [everything, so: yah:: it's not good.
- 28 Ying: [yah
- 29 hm::
- 30 Wen: but I don't know ((laughter)) uh as for cloning
31 people I will- I will- I won't support that,
32 but for cloning animals, I think maybe it has
33 some significance for the biology development,
34 maybe for the science development.

35 although animals should be protected by human,
36 but it's hard to say, we even eat animals.
37 Kei: yah ((laughter))
38 Wen: so I think human always do something beneficial
39 for themselves.
40 Ying: yah
41 Wen: so I- I only reject cloning people.
42 Ying: so you think uh scientists should not do this kind
43 of research?
44 (1.5)
45 Wen: for animals, I- I don't- I don't reject that.
46 Ying: hm, but [for humans
47 Wen: [maybe it's beneficial for the science
48 development.

Task 4: cell phone

Leader: Jenny Members: Chen, Joe, Ben

Discussion topic: The convenience and dangers of cell phones

- 1 Chen: that's two topic
- 2 Jenny: yah that's another topic.
- 3 [that's how] parents should like
- 4 Joe: [yah that's- that-]
- 5 that's why I wanna [say that
- 6 Jenny: [treat children
- 7 Joe: that's why I wanna say that, for example, you give
- 8 an example, your- your [little sister likes it
- 9 Jenny: [yah:
- 10 Joe: [since-
- 11 Jenny: [so:
- 12 (0.4)
- 13 Joe: yah since seven year- since seven years old
- 14 she already has [uh
- 15 Jenny: [so yah so the parents should
- 16 like, limit the children, like NOT to use
- 17 cell phones at home, or like those stuff.
- 18 What do you [think?
- 19 Joe: [NO. I didn't like that
- 20 ((Ben raises his left hand))
- 21 ((Joe points his left hand toward Ben))
- 22 Ben: maybe [they should limit age of-
- 23 Jenny: [hm
- 24 Ben: [of- of- this one, not at seven not [at seven, yes
- 25 Jenny: [hm: YAH that's one good idea [uh-huh
- 26 Ben: because seven that's mean when- when he said
- 27 accumulate, accumulate, that's mean eh: she- she
- 28 will take eh: less and less time =
- 29 Jenny: =uh-huh
- 30 Ben: with- with her family, isn't it
- 31 Jenny: yah yah=
- 32 Ben: =but when- when- eh after twelve, or after thirteen,
- 33 maybe that's good, [because can manage ourselves
- 34 Jenny: [so was that what you are saying,

[illegible]

Task 5: American military base

Leader: Mika Members: Jon, Brad, Ying

Discussion topic: Failed states

1 Jon: I think the united nations can do that. why we need U.S.
2 to do that
3 (0.6)
4 Brad: [uh
5 Mika: [yah[::
6 Jon: [you know?
7 Brad: it's kinda hard to do that, [cause another thing is
8 Jon: [just like the U.S., just like
9 the American military base in Okinawa, I think it's the same
10 things. but now people don't like the military=
11 Mika: =hm=
12 Jon: the American military [base in [their- in their place
13 Mika: [yah [yah
14 Brad: another thing is it's not just a simple war
15 Jon: hm-huh
16 Brad: it's not just simple terrorist
17 Jon: hm-huh
18 Brad: it's um, it has been like thousands of years of war
19 Jon: hm-huh
20 Brad: it's between religions
21 Jon: yah
22 Brad: in middle east
23 Jon: [yah
24 Mika: [yah:
25 Brad: so it's just not that simple. you cannot just take the
26 al-Qaeda and you probably just ()
27 you cannot do [that
28 Mika: [yah
29 Brad: cause there probably be more troops
30 Mika: hm

APPENDIX C: PILOT 3 TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS & TRANSCRIPT

Transcription symbols

1	Ken:	you know that, the failu-	first of all I think it is	
2		a failure of education in the family		- dash indicates a cut-off
3		(1.0)		
4	Hong:	educa[tion?	() parentheses indicates gap
5	Ken:	[responsi-	of course responsibility of your	[bracket indicates overlap
6		parents		
7		is very imp[ortant		
8	Hong:	[NO::		:: colons indicate a prolonged sound
9	Ken:	OH [you-		CAPTITAL indicates loud sounds
10	Hong:	[sometimes you can [()		empty parentheses indicates "not audible"

Task 1: Failure of education

Discussion topic: Transsexualism

Group members: Wang, Ken, Tim, Helen

25 Ken: you know that, the failu- first of all I think it is
26 a failure of education in the family
27 (1.0)
28 Helen: educa[tion?
29 Ken: [responsi- of course responsibility of your parents
30 is very imp[ortant
31 Helen: [NO::
32 Ken: OH [you-
33 Helen: [sometimes you can [()
34 Ken: [first of all, yah yah I-I-will
35 tell you because you know that in the family you can
36 educate with your kids, you can give him see: (0.5) eh
37 for example, you can explain to him about this
38 transsexualism, about that about this and then he
39 will understand WHAT is this. and then in the future
40 [of course
41 Helen: [sometimes he or she know: that that- transsexual
42 can- cannot uh:: cannot uh[: (0.4) control herself
43 Tim: [if this situation happen to me
44 Helen: maybe your parent can advise and treat him (0.3)
45 or she but she cannot control herself
46 Ken: NO. it it- that's why I said that it's the
47 responsibility of the parents who have to educate
48 well your children, it's IMPORTANT.

Discussion questions:

1. How do you understand the way Helen and Ken disagree with each other?
(lines 7 and 22)
2. How effective is their disagreement?
3. Is this something you will use when you disagree? Or will you do it differently?

Task 2: All the world

Discussion topic: Transsexualism

Group members: Wang, Ken, Tim, Helen

1 Wang: it's kinda shame in many [part of the [place, right?
2 Ken: [yah
3 Tim: [yes yes yes
4 Helen: strange?
5 Wang: shame
6 Tim: shame and the odd
7 Wang: yah
8 Tim: not- not- not- common in all the- it's just few
9 few uh [places eh:: own this- this situation
10 Helen: [no no, I think now the society is changing
11 Tim: and uh: few people not all the uh:: it's not
12 common in all- all [the world
13 Helen: [No no, I think it's uh now the
14 society accept it. like in Hawaii,
15 [I- I see the- the banner
16 Tim: [I SAY - I SAY some- some places adapt this
17 situation, but not in all the world.
18 Helen: no NO:
19 Tim: SO this is odd- [this is odd for ALL the world
20 Helen: [very popular

Discussion questions:

1. How do you understand the way Helen and Tim disagree with each other?
(lines 10, 13, 16, and 18)
2. How effective is their disagreement?
3. Is this something you will use when you disagree? Or will you do it differently?

Task 3: Cloning

Discussion topic: Cloning

Group members: Amy, Kei, Wen

- 1 Amy: so: I want to know ((laughter)) what your thoughts
2 about cloning?
3 (5.0)
- 4 Kei: I'm also against about cloning, and I was
5 actually um: writing essay about cloning before
6 Amy: really?
- 7 Kei: yah, so I researched some
8 Amy: wow ((laughter))
- 9 Kei: yah, and I know Dolly died really in short life
10 Amy: yah
11 Kei: because of the disease, maybe she was easy to get disease
12 Amy: yah
13 Kei: compared to other, like regular animal, normal
14 sheeps
15 Amy: hm
16 Kei: yah like born naturally, yah. I think it
17 would also happen to human, it can be
18 happened to humans, right?
- 19 Amy: [hm
20 Kei: [if we do cloning and other animals too, so I
21 don't think it's good. and only for transplant,
22 it's pretty sad, you know.
- 23 Amy: ((laughter))
24 Kei: about like- they also have even they are
25 cloned animals, humans, but they have, like,
26 human rights and animal rights and
27 [everything, so: yah:: it's not good.
- 28 Amy: [yah
29 hm::
- 30 Wen: but I don't know ((laughter)) uh as for cloning
31 people I will- I will- I won't support that,
32 but for cloning animals, I think maybe it has
33 some significance for the biology development,
34 maybe for the science development.

35 although animals should be protected by human,
36 but it's hard to say, WE even eat animals.
37 Kei: yah ((laughter))
38 Wen: but- so I think human always do something beneficial
39 for themselves.
40 Amy: yah
41 Wen: so I- I only reject cloning people.
42 Amy: so you think uh scientists should not do this kind
43 of research?
44 (1.5)
45 Wen: for animals, I- I don't- I don't reject that.
46 Amy: hm, but [for humans
47 Wen: [maybe it's beneficial for the science
48 development.

Discussion questions:

- 1. How do you understand Wen's disagreement here? (line 30)**
- 2. How effective is her disagreement?**
- 3. Is this something you will use when you disagree? Or will you do it differently?**

Task 4: cell phone

Discussion topic: The convenience and dangers of cell phones

Group members: Jenny, Chen, Joe, Ben

1 Chen: that's TWO topic
2 Jenny: yah that's another topic.
3 [that's how] parents should like
4 Joe: [yah that's- that-]
5 that's why I wanna [say that
6 Jenny: [treat children
7 Joe: that's why I wanna say that, for example, you give
8 an example, your- your [little sister likes it
9 Jenny: [yah:
10 Joe: [since-
11 Jenny: [so:
12 (0.4)
13 Joe: yah since seven year- since seven years old
14 she already has [uh
15 Jenny: [so yah so the parents should
16 like, limit the children, like NOT to use
17 cell phones at home, or like those stuff.
18 What do you [think?
19 Joe: [NO. I didn't like that
20 ((Ben raises his left hand))
21 ((Joe points his left hand toward Ben))
22 Ben: maybe [they should limit age of-
23 Jenny: [hm
24 Ben: [of- of- this one, not at seven not [at seven, yes
25 Jenny: [hm: YAH that's one good idea [uh-huh
26 Ben: because seven that's mean when- when he said
27 accumulate, accumulate, that's mean eh: she- she
28 will take eh: less and less time
29 Jenny: uh-huh
30 Ben: with- with her family, isn't it
31 Jenny: yah yah
32 Ben: but when- when- eh after twelve, or after thirteen,
33 maybe that's good, [because can manage ourselves
34 Jenny: [so was that what you are saying,

APPENDIX D: CLASSROOM TRANSCRIPT

Task 1: Failure of education

Discussion topic: Transsexualism*

Group members: Wang, Ken, Tim, Helen

- Before this segment started, members discussed what they would do if their kids wanted to have a surgery to change their gender.

*Transsexualism is when someone identifies with a physical sex that is different from the one they were born with.

1 Ken: you know that, the failu- first of all I think it is
2 a failure of education in the family
3 (1.0)
4 Helen: educa[tion?
5 Ken: [responsi- of course responsibility of your parents
6 is very imp[ortant
7 Helen: [NO::
8 Ken: OH [you-
9 Helen: [sometimes you can [()
10 Ken: [first of all, yah yah I-I-will
11 tell you because you know that in the family you can
12 educate with your kids, you can give him see: (0.5) eh
13 for example, you can explain to him about this
14 transsexualism, about that about this and then he
15 will understand WHAT is this. and then in the future
16 [of course
17 Helen: [sometimes he or she know: that that- transsexual
18 can- cannot uh:: cannot uh[: (0.4) control herself
19 Tim: [if this situation happen to me
20 Helen: maybe your parent can advise and treat him (0.3)
21 or she but she cannot control herself
22 Ken: NO. it it- that's why I said that it's the
23 responsibility of the parents who have to educate
24 well your children, it's IMPORTANT.

Discussion questions:

1. What do you think Helen and Ken are doing in line 7 and 22? What kind of action is that?

2. How do they carry out the action? How effective is their action?
3. Will you do the same thing when you are in a similar situation? Or will you do it differently?

Task 2: All the world

Discussion topic: Transsexualism

Group members: Wang, Ken, Tim, Helen

- In this segment, members are discussing people's attitudes toward transsexualism and how it is viewed around the world.

1 Wang: it's kinda shame in many [part of the [place, right?
2 Ken: [yah
3 Tim: [yes yes yes
4 Helen: strange?
5 Wang: shame
6 Tim: shame and the odd
7 Wang: Yah
8 Tim: not- not- not- common in all the- it's just few
9 few uh [places eh:: own this- this situation
10 Helen: [no no, I think now the society is changing
11 Tim: and uh: few people not all the uh:: it's not
12 common in all- all [over the world
13 Helen: [No no, I think it's uh now the
14 society accept it. like in Hawaii,
15 [I- I see the- the banner
16 Tim: [I SAY - I SAY some- some places adapt this
17 situation, but not in all the world.
18 Helen: no NO:
19 Tim: SO this is odd- [this is odd for ALL the world
20 Helen: [very popular

Discussion questions:

1. What do you think Helen is doing here in line 10, 13, and 18? What kind of action is this?
2. How does she carry out the action? How effective is her action?
3. Will you do the same thing when you are in a similar situation? Or will you do it differently?

Task 3: Cloning

Discussion topic: Cloning*

Group members: Amy, Kei, Wen

- In this segment, members are sharing their opinions on cloning.

*Cloning is the creation of an organism that is an exact genetic copy of another.

This means that every single bit of DNA is the same between the two.

1 Amy: so: I want to know ((laughter)) what your thoughts
2 about cloning?
3 (5.0)
4 Kei: I'm also against about cloning, and I was
5 actually um: writing essay about cloning before
6 Amy: really?
7 Kei: yah, so I researched some
8 Amy: wow ((laughter))
9 Kei: yah, and I know Dolly died really in short life
10 Amy: yah
11 Kei: because of the disease, maybe she was easy to get disease
12 Amy: yah
13 Kei: compared to other, like regular animal, normal
14 sheeps
15 Amy: hm
16 Kei: yah like born naturally, yah. I think it
17 would also happen to human, it can be
18 happened to humans, right?
19 Amy: [hm
20 Kei: [if we do cloning and other animals too, so I
21 don't think it's good. and only for transplant,
22 it's pretty sad, you know.
23 Amy: ((laughter))
24 Kei: about like- they also have even they are
25 cloned animals, humans, but they have, like,
26 human rights and animal rights and
27 [everything, so: yah:: it's not good.
28 Amy: [yah
29 hm::
30 Wen: but I don't know ((laughter)) uh as for cloning
31 people I will- I will- I won't support that,

32 but for cloning animals, I think maybe it has
33 some significance for the biology development,
34 maybe for the science development.
35 although animals should be protected by human,
36 but it's hard to say, WE even eat animals.
37 Kei: yah ((laughter))
38 Wen: but- so I think human always do something beneficial
39 for themselves.
40 Amy: yah
41 Wen: so I- I only reject cloning people.
42 Amy: so you think uh scientists should not do this kind
43 of research?
44 (1.5)
45 Wen: for animals, I- I don't- I don't reject that.
46 Amy: hm, but [for humans
47 Wen: [maybe it's beneficial for the science
48 development.

Discussion questions:

- 1. What is Wen doing from line 30? What kind of action is this?**
- 2. How does she carry out the action? How effective is her action?**
- 3. Will you do the same thing when you are in a similar situation? Or will you do it differently?**

Task 4: Afghanistan war

Discussion topic: Failed states*

Group members: Yuki, Jon, Brad, Amy

- In this segment, members are about to share their opinions on the Afghanistan war and discuss whether the war is an effective way to solve the problems in Afghanistan.

*Failed states are countries that are failing severely in terms of economics, politics, human rights, national security, etc.

1 Yuki: do you think the Afghanistan war is an effective
2 way to help failed states? or in another words,
3 do you think the Afghanistan war is justi-
4 justi- [justifiable,
5 Jon: [fiable
6 Yuki: why or why not, uh this is kinda my main points
7 in this discussion
8 (2.0)
9 Jon: it's par- it's partially, it's partially an
10 effective way to have the thing, [but not totally
11 Yuki: [uh-huh
12 to-, yah
13 Jon: you know, actually the U.S., U.S. uh has-
14 U.S. don't have to send so many troops in
15 Afghanistan. if the U.S. can help the Afghanistan,
16 they can help their leaders,
17 Yuki: hm
18 Jon: help their uh:: (1.0) political systems, help them
19 to establish a good political system, (0.5) and
20 help them to maintain the peace in their
21 country. but they don't have to send so many
22 troops in their country. not good
23 Yuki: yah, how about ()
24 Brad: uh(2.0) () I- I think it's effective, but(1.6) some other
25 people might argue with it cause the way I think its-
26 its effective way because before making
27 developments in like Yemen and the surrounding
28 countries, they should probably take down those
29 al-Qaeda and other, you know, terrorist groups,

30 cause even if they are trying to develop more on
 31 other subjects, they would probably try to, you
 32 know, (2.5) uh, you know, try to break all those
 33 things down and all the subjects, all the projects
 34 and stuff, so before doing like building foundation,
 they should probably clear out other interference.
 35 Yuki: hm:: yah (1.0) so uh so you think it's uh
 36 Brad: yah I think it's one of the effective way [yep
 37 Yuki: [uh-huh we
 38 can help it or something so like uh (0.5) the
 39 troops are kinda necessary
 40 Brad: uh (1.5) it's- kind of balance, balancing, you know
 41 Yuki: hm: [yah
 42 Brad: [I cannot just say yes, I cannot just say no
 43 Yuki: hm:: how about ()
 44 (1.2)
 45 Amy: it is an effective way, but I don't agree with that.
 46 yah (1.0) cause I- I- I think they should not
 47 induce more war or something, like, hm::
 48 maybe I don't know what else they can do, but
 49 I think it must be more other way to help them,
 50 yah, like uh:: maybe help their economics,
 51 improve their economics or their social problems
 52 something yah, and (1.3) so I don't think the war
 53 and send the troops is the best way. it should
 54 be more better- better ways to help them yah
 55 so:: that's what I think.

Discussion questions:

1. What do you think Brad and Amy are doing in line 24, 25, and 45? What kind of action is this?
2. How do they carry out their action? How effective is their action?
3. Is this something you will do in a similar situation? Or will you do it differently?

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